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CENTER FOR CHINESE LINGUISTICS
HONG KONG UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
香港科技大學中國語言學研究中心



Professor Li Fang-Kuei

李方桂先生

(1902-1987)

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Preface

August, 2002. His portrait appeared on the screen. The meandering chanting of a poem in the Rúgāo 如皋 dialect filled the air.

哀思竟日不能忘...憶昔從遊舍路西...誰將古韻從頭說...
憶昔訪師檀島東...紅人舊語誰能識...泰典書成百世功...

It tugged at the heart. A classroom in Thompson Hall with lofty pines soaring by the window...a nook on the fragrant isle with gentle sea breeze sweeping by...a hut on the treasure island with sprawling bamboos and kingly palms...Scene after scene floated in the minds of those in the audience.

A group of his students, members of his family, his close friends and admirers gathered after the International Symposium Commemorating the Centennial Birthday of Professor Li Fang-Kuei and decided to set up something permanent with which to remember this master scholar, who had carved monumental works in Chinese linguistics, Tai linguistics and American Indian linguistics. Within minutes, this group of people, some already with silvery streaks of hoary hair, promptly pledged donations totaling US\$100,000 toward this goal.

Although these naïve 書獃子-turned-organizers-overnight bumped into various unexpected obstacles on the way, their spirit was undaunted, their dream never shattered. Through the generous assistance of several attorneys at the Garvey, Schubert, Barer Law Firm in Seattle, a non-profit organization, the Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics 紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會, was established on October 1, 2003.

The goal of the Society is not only to honor this great scholar-linguist, who founded a distinguished tradition of research and teaching in Chinese linguistics in the United States and China, but also to serve as a venue for continuing this excellent tradition of his, supporting and encouraging the highest standards of research and scholarship in the academic discipline of Chinese linguistics in an international context. We are heartened by the enthusiastic support from four corners of the world and shall keep striving for progress in our mission. So far we have set up an annual Li Fang-Kuei Award in two categories to encourage young scholars in producing writings of high

quality (Please see announcement in this issue).

Professor Li's contribution to linguistics is global and many-faceted. His keen insight, great intellect, and profound knowledge as conveyed through his writings have influenced directly or indirectly subsequent generations of scholars. In appreciation of his contribution to the academic community worldwide, the Society has launched this *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics* 中國語言學集刊 as a permanent tribute to him.

The *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics* is a joint publication supported by the Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics and the Center for Chinese Linguistics of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. The journal publishes research in Chinese linguistics with a special focus on historical comparative study and dialectal research. Its areas of interest also include Sino-Tibetan and other languages related to Chinese.

What better token of reverence can we give to this great master than devoting ourselves to research in a manner worthy of continuing the great tradition, striving to shed new light, explore new horizons, as he had shown us through the milestones he erected?

方死方生火不盡 桂花謝了百花開
徐往徐來清淨土 櫻紅世世李邊栽

Editors-in-chief
May 20, 2006

發刊詞

二零零二年八月一個絢爛的早晨。堂中高懸的布幔上投射著李方桂先生的照片。嘴角微掀，慈祥的笑容，溫文儒雅。二十韻的追悼長詩，他的學生正用如皋鄉音吟誦。聲聲傳來，觸動心弦。

哀思竟日不能忘…憶昔從遊舍路西…誰將古韻從頭說…
憶昔訪師檀島東…紅人舊語誰能識…泰典書成百世功…

是華大 Thompson Hall 教室窗外，蒼松磊落；是檀洲一角，春風微拂；是寶島雅築，紫竹橫延，勁欄高聳。在座各人心頭湧起一幕一幕的往事回憶。

紀念李方桂先生百年冥誕國際學術研討會在華盛頓大學舉行。會後，李先生的家人、弟子和許多友人，聚在一起商討。有年輕的，也有不少兩鬢已經花白。大家興致很高。李先生在漢語、泰語和紅印第安語各方面的研究，著書立說，貢獻至鉅。爲了紀念這位一代學人，大家一致同意應該做一些更有意義的長遠安排。話猶未了，已經有人認捐，即席籌得十萬美金，作爲籌備李方桂學會這項工作的基金。

我們這些人平常都是躲在書房中教室裡工作的書獃子。辦起這些事來，熱情有餘，經驗不足。在籌組的過程中，碰到許多預想不到的困阻。但是，殷勤心切，無名的執著，鍥而不捨。其後在幾位熱心的律師大力協助之下，終於在二零零三年十月一日成立紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會。

成立學會的宗旨，一方面是爲了紀念這位語言學大師畢生對開發中國語言學的研究，在中美各地教學，栽培後學而獲得的豐碩成果；另一方面，我們更希望能通過這個學會來繼承李先生的治學傳統，薪火相傳，爲中國語言學研究建立一個更廣闊的國際平台。我們的理念和努力，引起世界各地許多有心人的積極支持。我們爲此而感到鼓舞，我們也以此鞭策，努力向前邁進。學會現已設立李方桂語言學論著獎，鼓勵青年學者撰寫並出版具高水平的學術著作。（有關論著獎詳情請見附錄一。）

李先生對語言學的貢獻是多方面的，更具有普世性的影響。我們從他許多的著作中，可以看到他的卓識學養，他的智慧熱誠。他對後來者的影響，道以言傳，一代復一代。學會出版《中國語言學集刊》，就是希望通過這一份刊物，開設一個永久性的學術基地，作為對李先生景仰的一個具體表現。

《中國語言學集刊》由紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會和香港科技大學中國語言學研究中心共同出版，刊載中國語言學學術論文，舉凡和中國語言，漢藏語，或其他與漢語有關語言的研究，特別是重點在歷史比較和方言研究的文稿，皆所歡迎。

方死方生火不盡 桂花謝了百花開
徐往徐來清淨土 櫻紅世世李邊栽

李先生在學術研究上樹立了良好的楷模。我們向這位一代學人表達最高崇敬的方式，就是秉承他的治學精神，群策群力，攜手共同開發新範疇，探討新課題，尋找新發現。哲人雖去，但是蹊徑已闢，播種耕耘的工作，我們責無旁貸。我們願以此互勉。

本刊主編
二零零六年五月二十日

論《切韻》四等韻介音有無的問題*

丁邦新

柏克萊加州大學 香港科技大學

0. 引言

《切韻》四等韻有沒有介音是一個老問題，從高本漢 (1915-26, 1940:473) 認為四等韻有一個強的元音性的 -i- 之後，趙元任 (1940:213) 就說四等韻的開頭有一個低而開的 -i-，贊成的如周法高 (1948:216)、董同龢 (1954:98)，反對的如陸志韋 (1947:20)、李榮 (1956:112)、邵榮芬 (1982:126)。反對的理由之一是梵漢對音中漢語的四等字對梵文的 -e-，但劉廣和 (2002) 也根據梵漢對音卻認為從漢代到唐代四等字一直就有 -i- 介音。尉遲治平 (2002) 從隋唐詩文用韻證明四等韻也有 -i-。我在討論重紐的文章中 (1997:51) 曾經提出四等韻有介音 -i- 的想法，現在希望作一個徹底的梳理。

1. 四等韻合口音的演變

《切韻》中只有八個韻是四等韻：齊、先、蕭、青、添，跟先、青、添相配的入聲韻則是：屑、錫、帖。這些韻的字有的有開合口之分，有的只有開口，它們的分佈並不相同：

	齊	先	青	蕭	添	屑	錫	帖
開口：	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
合口：	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-

蕭、添、帖三韻並沒有合口字，主要的原因是蕭韻收 -u 尾，添韻收 -m 尾，

* 本文在付印前承龔煌城兄指正數處，在此致謝！

而帖韻收 -p 尾。這三種有合口性質的韻尾跟合口的介音 -u- 牴觸，所以沒有合口字。其他齊、先、青、屑、錫等五韻是開合口具全的，如果不給它們擬測介音，像李榮的系統就如下表：

	齊	先	青	屑	錫
開口：	-ei	-en	-eŋ	-et	-ek
合口：	-uei	-uen	-ueŋ	-uet	-uek

先屑韻開口的字演變到國語大致都有 -i- 介音，例如：“先、賢、顯、屑”。這個 -i- 介音的來源可以解釋為後起的。如果再看合口字，例如：先韻的“玄、淵”，入聲屑韻的“血、穴”，現在國語都有介音 -y-，試問這個介音是怎樣變來的？怎麼樣會從合口變成細音，變成撮口呢？按照李榮的擬音，就要說這個 -y- 是從介音 -u- 變來的。問題是在他的系統中還有別的帶介音 -u- 的韻，例如：皆韻合口是 -uäi，山韻合口是 -uän，耕韻合口是 -uäŋ。皆韻的合口字“乖懷”，山韻的合口字“鰥頑”，耕韻的合口字“轟宏”都還保存介音 -u-，這些字的介音為什麼不變為 -y-？最主要的一個現象是四等齊韻的“圭”字，去聲的“桂”字現在國語的韻母都讀 -uei，為什麼出現在類似的音韻環境裡，而這個介音又保存 -u-，不變為 -y- 了？

如果我們換個說法，承認四等韻有介音 -i-，像高本漢的系統就是：

	齊	先	青	屑	錫
開口：	-iei	-ien	-ieŋ	-iet	-iek
合口：	-iuei	-iuen	-iueŋ	-iuet	-iuek

開口的字演變到國語保存 -i- 介音，例如：“先、賢、顯、屑”。合口字，例如：先韻的“玄、淵”，入聲屑韻的“血、穴”，則是 -iu- 合起來變成了 -y，這是非常自然的演變。其他皆韻、山韻、耕韻合口字只是保存了原來的 -u-，不造成演變的問題。至於四等齊韻的“圭”字，去聲的“桂”字韻母現在國語都是 -uei，是因為後面的 -i 韻尾使得前面的介音 -i- 產生異化作用而消失的結果。沒有介音 -i-，這個韻母的來源簡直不好解釋。

現在再來看跟以上五個四等韻相當的三等韻的情形，高本漢擬作：

	祭	仙	清	薛	昔
開口：	jäi	jän	jäng	jät	jäk
合口：	juäi	juän	juäng	juät	juäk

祭韻的例字如“瑞、歲”都讀合口，也因為後面的 -i 韻尾使得前面的介音 -i- 產生異化作用而消失，跟齊韻一樣。仙韻的例字如“圓、全”，入聲薛韻的“雪、絕”，清韻的“瓊”都是合口三等字，¹ 現在國語也有介音 -y-。換句話說，三四等的演變模式完全平行，可見都有介音。我們可以不同意高本漢所擬的元音，自然也可以另行擬構，但是介音的框架很難更動。

因此從語音演變的角度來說，我認為四等韻有介音 -i-。在《切韻》系統裡把四等介音去掉一點沒有問題，但是要談到四等韻演變的時候，沒有介音 -i- 就產生了很大的困難。

2. 漢越語中重紐四等字的讀音

我以前討論重紐介音的時候（丁 1997），曾經指出《切韻》三四等的介音系統如下：

重紐三等介音	-rj-
重紐四等介音	-i-
普通三等韻介音	-j-
純四等韻介音	-i-

把重紐四等字跟純四等韻介音都擬成 -i- 有兩個原因，現在不憚辭費，略加說明。第一、從音類的關係來說，根據李榮 (1956:140) 的研究，《切韻》裡重紐四等字的“又音”都是純四等韻，他說：“從又音上可以看出‘三等’和‘四等’的不同。韻圖上列‘三等’的重紐字又音是純三等韻（子類），韻圖上列‘四等’的重紐字又音是純四等韻（齊蕭添先青五部）。”後來謝美齡 (1991:90) 研究慧琳《一切經音義》的反切關係，發現重紐三、四等不互作反切上字，而重紐三等字和純三等韻來往，重紐四等字則和純四等韻混用。這表示從《切韻》到慧琳《一切經音義》重紐四等字都和純四等韻的字有密切關係。如果重紐四等字有

¹ 入聲昔韻的“役”字國語沒有介音 -y-，可是西南官話、江淮官話都還保存。

介音 -i- 的話，那麼純四等韻的字極可能也有介音 -i-。

第二、從擬音來說，重紐四等字如何證明有介音 -i- 呢？因為在漢越語譯音裡重紐三等唇音字讀 p-、m- 等重唇音，而重紐四等唇音字則變讀 t-、t'-、z- 等舌尖音。我的推測是重紐四等唇音字有介音 -i-，使得這些本來讀 p-、p'-、m- 的音讀成 t-、t'-、z-，正好純四等韻的字本來讀 p-、p'- 的也發生同樣的變讀。² 當時我只找到“並 tinh、酪茗 zanh、霹 t'it”等四個字，張渭毅 (2003:113) 又從三根谷徹討論“中古漢語與越南漢字音”的書裡找到八個字：例如“篋 ti、劈 tich、僻癖 tich”，同時有好幾個字有兩讀，例如“麵 mien/rien、酪茗 dinh/minh”，這些純四等的字不僅聲母讀舌尖音，跟重紐四等字完全一樣；而且有兩讀的字還帶著介音 -i-。重紐四等的“面 dien/rien”也有介音 -i-。

從音類上說，重紐四等字的“又音”都是純四等韻；從語音上說，漢越語證明重紐四等字跟純四等韻的字都有介音 -i-，這個介音使得《切韻》裡重紐四等跟部分純四等韻的唇音字在漢越語裡都讀成舌尖音。重紐四等字跟純四等字既然都有介音 -i-，他們的差異就在於主要元音。

3. 梵文對音裡的四等字

研究的人對《切韻》四等字在梵文對音裡的情形說法不一，最早是李榮 (1956:114) 引用下列七家的對音：

東晉法顯	(417 年)
劉宋慧嚴等	(424-432 年?)
北涼曇無讖	(414-421 年)
梁僧伽婆羅	(518 年)
隋闍那崛多	(587-591 年)
唐玄應	(649 年?)
唐地婆訶羅	(683 年)

² 中國方言中也有類似的情形，潘家懿 (1985) 指出山西聞喜方言“古幫組開口三四等字，今讀 [p p' m] 聲母的，逢細音在口語裡可以變讀為 [t t' l]。”以前崔盈科 (1929) 就報導過這個現象，最早的記載見於 1918 年編纂的聞喜縣志，可惜不能說明這種音變發生的年代。我雖然相信這是早期由於三四等介音所造成的音變，別人儘可以說那是四等介音 -i- 產生以後才發生的音變，不如漢越語譯音的資料時代比較明確。

他指出：“從法顯 (417) 到地婆訶羅 (683) 二百六十多年當中，譯梵文字母的人一直用四等字對 ‘e’，西域記注又特別說明 ‘多 ta + 伊 i = 低 te’，這證據是強有力的。”我覺得問題在於假如當時漢語根本沒有 te 這樣的音，只有四等字 “低 tie”，會不會用 “低” 字去對 te？同時，會不會也用 “低” 字去對 ti 呢？例如現代國語沒有 te 這樣的音，對於美國的旅遊聖地 Yosemite，趙元任先生用 “遊山美地” 來譯音，近年來也有人用 “優勝美地” 或者 “優森美地”，我們能不能據此推論一百年來國語的 “地” 字讀 te？稍微觀察一下，原來 “地” 字也用來對 di 或 ti，Madison 是 “陌地生”，Tahiti 就是 “太溪地”，就立刻知道前面的推論有問題。因此我覺得西域記注的證據未必是強而有力的。

施向東 (1983:35) 研究玄奘 (600-664 年) 的譯著，他指出：“對譯以 i 為主元音的音節的，只要有重紐，就一定用四等字，不用三等字，例如，pāramitā 一詞，在佛典中出現極其頻繁，玄奘譯作 ‘波羅蜜多’，mit 對 ‘蜜’，從不省筆作常見的 ‘密’，因為 ‘蜜’ 在四等，‘密’ 在三等。”這個說明玄奘用重紐四等字對譯以 “i” 為主元音的音節，上文已證明重紐四等字是跟純四等有密切關係，大概可以說四等字不是只對以 “e” 為主要元音的音節。

這樣的證據似乎太間接了，是不是有直接的四等韻的對音證明呢？Coblin (1991) 研究義淨 (635-713 年) 的資料，關於純四等韻的對音有以下的發現：

純四等韻	梵文對音
齊韻開口	e/i/ai
先韻開口	yan (舌尖塞音聲母之後)
	ain/im (舌根音聲母之後)
屑韻開口	yat (d-後)
青韻開口	i+m, ñ
錫韻開口	yag
添韻開口	yam, im

蕭韻及帖韻沒有資料，其餘六韻都有對音。對音顯示齊韻開口字可以對 e、i、ai，難以說定它的音值。其他所有四等韻的開口字不是對 i，就是對 y，很顯明地表示有一個 -i-、-y- 之類的介音。

最近劉廣和 (2002:205-220) 的研究，根據漢譯佛經的梵漢對音資料，推斷翻譯佛經的語言裡純四等韻的字有 -i- 介音，因為對梵文 -y- 的四等字有以下的情形：

東漢有 3 個字：提 *tya*，填 *dyan*，黎 *rya*

兩晉有 5 個字：提 *tya*，填 *dyan*，田 *dyan*，梨 *riya*、*rya*，麗 *riya*

唐代有 9 個字：諦 *tye*，店 *tyam*，甸 *dyam*，鈿 *dhyan*，

殿 *dhyan*，滄 *dham*，細 *syē*，係 *hyē*，系 *hyē*

西晉增加三個字，到唐代用了九個字對譯 *-y-*，都是東漢和兩晉沒有出現過的，因此他說：

純四等字對音東漢就有 *i* 介音，兩晉增強，唐宋大備。假定有誰主張《切韻》純四等沒有 *i* 介音，而且這種情況代表中古的通語，咱們就要提出懷疑，因為它跟對音文獻不合，譯音語言應當代表通語或者當時影響很大的方言。

我相信他的論斷正確無疑。

所謂“譯音語言”指什麼方言呢？以唐代來說，上面引用了玄奘跟義淨的對音。玄奘是河南人，他大量翻譯佛經的工作在當時的長安進行，他的方言代表北方。義淨是范陽人（可能在今北京西南），二十三歲之後至鄴（在今河南），其後也轉至長安，直到 670 年，他的方言應該也是北方話。這兩個人的方言跟《切韻》中北方話的成分大概很相近。根據他們的對音討論《切韻》，在地域上應該沒有問題。同時值得注意的是玄奘和義淨的對音是上述李榮所引的七家對音中所沒有的，而玄奘的譯經最有系統，份量也多，根據他的資料立論應該最可靠。

利用梵漢對音的資料來討論漢語歷史的問題，必須注意梵文本身可能有的變化以及方言差異，也要注意翻譯者的方言背景，才不至於為材料所誤。

4. 魏晉南北朝四等字押韻的趨勢

按照李方桂 (1971) 的系統，因為上古同韻部的一、二、三、四等的字可以一起押韻，所以相信元音跟韻尾是相同的，例如葉部四等的擬音就是：

一等 *-ap*：盍 *gap*、臘 *lap*

二等 *-rap*：甲 *krap*、狎 *grap*

三等 *-jap*：接 *tsjap*、涉 *djap*

四等 -iap： 協 giap、帖 thiap

二、三、四等的不同歸之於介音。到了兩漢的時候，一、二、三、四等的字還可以一起押韻，所以我的擬測（丁 1975:238-247）完全遵照李方桂的原則。

現在我們來看魏晉南北朝韻部演變的情形，根據我（1975）跟何大安（1981）的研究，絕大部分的三四等字還在同一個韻部，還是一起押韻。現在把魏晉南北朝詩文韻部中三四等字的押韻趨勢及擬音情形列舉如下：

魏 晉：

宵 部：	三等宵 -jau 跟	四等蕭 -iau 通押
藥 部：	三等藥 -jakw 跟	四等錫 -iakw 通押
佳 部：	三等支 -jei 跟	四等齊 -iei 通押
錫 部：	三等昔 -jiek 跟	四等錫 -iek 通押
祭 部：	三等祭 -jad 跟	四等齊 -iad 通押
月 部：	三等薛 -jat 跟	四等屑 -iat 通押
耕 部：	三等清 -jieng 跟	四等青 -ieng 通押
元 部：	三等仙 -jan 跟	四等先 -ian 通押
談 部：	三等鹽 -jam 跟	四等添 -iam 通押

南北朝：

蕭 宵部：	三等宵 -jiau 跟	四等蕭 -iau 通押
藥 鐸部：	三等藥 -jak 不跟	陌麥昔錫部：四等錫 -iek 通押
支 部：	三等支 -je 不跟	齊部：四等齊 -iei；-iæi 通押
陌麥昔錫部：	三等昔 -jiek 跟	四等錫 -iek 通押
祭 霽部：	三等祭 -jai 跟	四等齊 -iai；-iæi 通押
黠屑薛部：	三等薛 -jat 跟	四等屑 -iat 通押
庚耕清青部：	三等清 -jiej 跟	四等青 -iej 通押
山仙先部：	三等仙 -jian 跟	四等先 -ian 通押
鹽添嚴凡部：	三等鹽 -jam 跟	四等添 -iam 通押

這裡有幾個問題需要先說明：

(1) 魏晉跟南北朝的韻部名稱頗有差異，完全根據原著的用法，但上面列舉的兩個時代的資料還是互相對照的。例如：魏晉的佳部相當於南北朝的支部。

(2) 這裡只談大勢，各部韻字押韻的行爲容或有個別的改變，並不影響整個的趨勢。

(3) 爲了了解的方便，用《切韻》韻目顯示押韻的情形，但某一韻目並不包括該韻全部的字。例如：魏晉的“錫”韻分別見於藥部和錫部，“齊”韻分別見於佳部和祭部。

(4) 按何大安的意見，南北朝分爲三個時期：宋北魏前期，北魏後期北齊，齊梁陳北周隋。這裡討論三四等字押韻的趨勢並不分期，只就籠統的情形立說。但是擬音的部分就用分號把前後期隔開。例如：齊 -iəi；-iæi 表示齊韻前兩期是 -iəi，而後期則是 -iæi。

(5) 因爲這裡討論押韻的趨勢，擬音只列出三四等最基本的開口韻母，暫時不管合口，也不管重紐的不同。

根據上面的資料，我們可以得到幾點結論：

第一、從上古到南北朝《切韻》寫成的時候，絕大部分同部的三四等字都還在一起押韻，它們的不同只是介音的不同。如果認爲四等字沒有介音，三四等字的不同就是元音的差異，對於它們押韻的行爲就難以解釋。

第二、儘管各人對擬音的內容可能有不同的看法，也還有個別的音值可以商討，但從擬音的大勢來看，到南北朝的時候，除去主要元音已經是 -e- 的各韻以外，主要元音 -a- 受介音 -i- 的影響舌位提高爲 -e- 的演變是最自然的。等到這種演變固定下來之後，四等韻就獨立了。

第三、詩文的押韻各家容或有寬嚴的不同，例如南北朝四等青韻獨用的問題。何大安 (1981:203-204) 發現：“清青分用分別是 70 次和 53 次，可見許多人都覺察到二者的不同。——齊謝朓酬德賦連用六個青韻上聲字；北周王褒從軍行連用十一個青韻平聲字，都可看出詩人們在掌握青韻特點上所作的努力。”但是審音和押韻不是一回事，庚清青三韻或清青兩韻的字也時常一起押韻。何大安的解釋是：“這表示審音雖然有別，但元音與韻尾既然相同，而介音又無妨於押韻之和諧，則不妨同用。”我完全同意他的看法。

5. 反對四等韻有介音的理由

對高本漢構擬四等介音 -i- 的辦法，李榮 (1956:109-115) 早就提出反面的理由。最近張渭毅 (2003:113) 歸納爲三點，其中一點關於梵文對音一直用四等字對 “e” 的問題，上文已經探討過。現在就另外兩點加以評論。

(1) 《切韻》的反切上字有分成兩組的趨勢，一二四等一類，三等一類。四

等如果有介音 -i-，而三等有介音 -j-，何以四等跟一二等一樣不用三等字爲反切上字？

我覺得一般音韻學家對反切上字分類的趨勢可能看得太重，也許有一點誤解。反切上字主要管聲母，分兩類只是一個趨勢，我們不能要求上字連介音都要能分別，這是不切實際的。介音通常由下字區別，反切的設計原來應該能清楚地照顧介音，但是上字的介音無可避免地介入其中，因此常常引起混淆。以致大部分的字用下字照顧介音，有時還要求上字的介音和諧，小部分的字則偶爾用上字照顧介音。

即使分兩類的趨勢也還有問題，李榮 (1956:109-110) 就曾指出：“反切上字雖然有分組的趨勢，卻並不清清楚楚的分成兩類。”“一二四等字也有拿三等字作反切上字的，三等字也有拿一二四等字作反切上字的。”董同龢 (1952:512) 研究《全王》(王三) 的反切上字，就曾指出幫母大體可分“博、方”兩類，但是“‘博’類之中又有‘并、彼、陂、兵’是二等字，佔全數的五分之二，一二四等韻的字只佔五分之三。”“兵、并”是清韻重紐三等、重紐四等的字，“彼、陂”都是支韻重紐三等的字，卻可以跟一二四等的字系聯，因此聲母不一定管得到介音。同時重紐三四等的字既可以跟一二四等的字系聯，可見用反切上字的分類判別介音的是非恐怕不能成立。

(2) 如果四等韻有介音 -i-，三等韻的重紐四等字也有介音 -i-，何以重紐四等可以配章組聲母，而純四等韻沒有配章組聲母的例字？

這是演變空缺的問題。我們也可以問：何以國語陽聲韻中沒有配全清聲母的陽平字？例如有陰平的“幫 pāng，當 tāng，薑 tēiāng”，也有陽平的“旁 p'áng，唐 t'áng，強 tēi'áng”，爲何沒有陽平的“páng，táng，tēiáng”？這是因爲陽聲韻中全清聲母“幫、端、見”變陰平不送氣聲母，全濁聲母“並、定、群”變陽平送氣聲母，陽平的“páng，táng，tēiáng”雖然是普通而且可能的音節，卻因爲歷史演變的結果產生了空缺，沒有來源。四等韻沒有配章組聲母的字也是自然演變的結果。原來上古章組聲母大部分是舌尖音，本來可以配各種韻母，在一四等韻母之前的到中古仍然保留舌尖音，在介音 -r- 之前的變爲捲舌音，但在介音 -j- 之前的就變爲舌面音，成爲後來的章組聲母。沒有經過重新分配的演變，自然章組聲母就不跟四等字相配了。³

還有一個反面的證明，就是李如龍 (1996:72-82) 發現閩語裡純四等字有讀爲洪音的現象。他推測原來“齊、先、蕭、青、添”各韻分別讀爲 -ai、-an、-

³ 章組聲母的另一個來源是複輔音，詳見李方桂 (1976) 的討論。

au、-aŋ、-am，同時在閩東寧德實際的讀音是齊 -ɛ、先 -en、蕭 -ɛu、青 -eŋ、添 -em，跟李榮所擬的中古音很接近。所以他認為《切韻》的四等韻沒有介音 -i-。

最近吳瑞文 (2002) 專門探討閩語四等韻的語音層次，他的結論是：除去文讀音以外，閩語還有兩個層次。一個是秦漢時期的第一層次，“這一層次的音韻特徵是普遍缺乏介音 -i-，表現出上古韻部的特徵。”另一個是六朝時期的第二層次，“這一層次的音韻特徵是有介音 -i-，而且仙先有別。”

我覺得吳瑞文的分析很有道理，李如龍指出的現象是秦漢時期閩語讀音的遺留，我們現在所要探討的是《切韻》的四等韻有沒有介音 -i- 的問題。恰好閩語的第二層次是有介音 -i- 的，時代也正是六朝時期。

6. 結語

這篇文章的結語很簡單，從四等韻合口音的演變規則，漢越語中重紐四等的讀法，梵文對音裡四等字的表現，魏晉南北朝四等字押韻的趨勢來看，我認為《切韻》的四等韻具有介音 -i- 是無可懷疑的。繞了許多冤枉路，還是回到了高本漢的原點，但這個結論是經過重新論證的結果。

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On the Medial *-i-* in *Qieyun* Division IV Finals

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Whether the *Qieyun* Division IV finals have a medial *-i-* or not is an issue that has been debated for almost a century since Karlgren published his monumental work entitled *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise*. This paper examines the problem from the following four angles: 1. Evolution of the Division IV characters with a rounded medial; 2. Pronunciations of the Division IV *chongniu* 重紐 characters in Sino-Vietnamese; 3. Transliterations of Division IV characters in Buddhist canons translated from Sanskrit; 4. Tendency of the rhyming behaviors of Division IV characters in the Wei-Jin and Nan-Bei-Chao periods. Results indicate that the *Qieyun* Division IV finals do have a medial *-i-*.

Key words: historical phonology, reconstruction, *Qieyun* Division IV finals, medial

關於輕唇音產生的幾個問題*

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1. 輕唇音產生的條件

1.1 切韻音系沒有輕唇音，輕唇音非母/f/、敷母/f^h/、奉母/v/、微母/ɱ/ (>/v/) 從唇音（重唇音）幫母/p/、滂母/p^h/、並母/b/、明母/m/的分化，是唐代發生的一項重要的音位變化。

按照高本漢（1940）的擬音，切韻音系的唇音聲母在下列各韻中後來變為輕唇音（舉平聲韻目以賅與之相配的仄聲韻）：

東 ɛiung，鍾 i^wong，微 ɛi，虞 iu，廢 i^wei，文 iuən，元 i^wen，陽 i^wang，
尤 iəu，凡 i^wem

高本漢（1940:417）認為，唇音聲母變為輕唇音必須具備下面兩個條件：

a) 聲母 j 化；b) 合口，即聲母後面隨著一個 u (或 ^w) 音。

高本漢把大部分唇牙喉音聲母以及來母分為不 j 化的和 j 化的兩種，這是根據《廣韻》裡代表這些字母的反切上字各分兩類，例如見母的反切上字分為「古」、「公」、「工」等與「居」、「舉」、「九」等，前一類主要用來切一等、二等和「四」等（即「純四等」）字，後一類主要用來切三等字。基於這種分用現象，高本漢認為：這些聲母在三等介音 i 前面是 j 化的，如 pj, kj, lj 等，因此反切作者給三等字注音時特地選擇了同樣屬三等的反切上字來表示其 j 化特徵。

不過，對高本漢這一看法，多數學者並未贊同，這是因為：j 化與不 j 化兩種

* 本文係對平山久雄（1967）加以刪節和增補，並用中文改寫而成的。

聲母決不出現在同一個韻母前面構成對立，因此這種區別從音位論的觀點來看是多餘的；一個聲母在介音 *ɨ* 前面帶齶化¹是很自然的語音同化現象，無須乎將它一一標示出來。趙元任（Chao 1940:205-215）指出這一點，並以反切上字向被切字介音的諧和趨向（*medial harmony*）來說明了反切上字的分用問題。如此看來，條件 a）「聲母 *j* 化」應該改寫為「聲母後面隨著一個三等介音 *ɨ*」。

對於條件 b），趙元任（Chao 1940:223-227）批評說：既然唇音字沒有開合口的對立，並且根據反切下字也難以決定唇音字的開合，那麼條件 b）就等於把唇音後來變輕唇的韻母定為合口，又以此來說明輕唇音產生的條件，這樣就不能算是解決問題了。

1.2 趙元任（Chao 1940:224）對輕唇音分化的語音學條件提出一個假設：

On the other hand, suppose we assume that, if a labial word has a high *i*² and further followed by a central (mixed) or a back vowel, which is usually associated with a retracted position of the jaw, then there will be a tendency for the lower lip to touch the upper teeth, thus resulting in dentilabials.

產生輕唇音的 10 個韻母中有 9 個符合這一假設。唯一的例外是微韻 *ǝi*，趙元任（Chao 1940:213）把高本漢的微韻音值 *ǝi* 改為 *ǝ̥i*。他指出：如果把微韻再改為 *ǝ̥i*，就可以說明微韻字在日本吳音與溫州音中的反映，從與上古漢語的對應規律來看，這樣改擬也就顯得更為合適。陽韻看起來也是例外，趙元任（Chao 1940:224，注 39）便把切韻的 *a* 看做是一種央元音，以便使陽韻留在合乎上述假設的範圍之內了。

那麼剩下來的問題是：按高本漢的擬音帶有央、後元音的一些三等韻中，唇音字卻沒有變為輕唇音。這些韻為：庚 *ɨ̃əŋ*、蒸 *ɨ̃əŋ*、幽 *ɨ̃əu*、侵 *ɨ̃əm*。趙元任（Chao 1940:225-226）對此認為：把蒸、幽、侵韻訂為 *ɨ̃əŋ*、*ɨ̃əu*、*ɨ̃əm* 也未嘗不可，這樣修訂也便於說明一些幽韻唇音字如「彪」、「繆」現代讀 *piao*、*miao* 的

¹ 高本漢原文為「*yodization*」，中譯本譯做「*j* 化」，是表示共時的語音現象。高本漢把「*palatalization*」用在歷時變化上，中譯本譯做「齶化」。本文中所謂「齶化」則是語音生理上的 *palatalization*，即相當於高本漢的「*j* 化」。

² 趙元任（Chao 1940:213）認為，三等韻母有「a high or close *i*」，四等（即「純四等」）韻母則有「a low or open *i*」。

現象；但對蒸韻、侵韻來說，除了能說明唇音未變輕唇以外並無積極的證據；至於庚_三韻，則難以將它的主要元音改為前舌元音。於是他解釋說：自己這一假設到這裡就遇到了無法排除的障礙，只是由於它富於魅力，所以提出來以待後人尋找出路。

1.3 替趙元任解決了這一問題的可算是陸志韋（1947），雖然在當時的情況之下他可能沒有讀到趙文。陸志韋（1947:1-60）卷首〈切韻的音值〉對高本漢的擬音做了不少修改，其中也包括庚_三、蒸、幽、侵等韻的音值在內。陸志韋對這幾韻的擬音如下（只記三等開口的音值）³：

庚_三 iæŋ、蒸 iẽŋ、幽 iœu、侵 iœm

對於庚_三韻，陸志韋先把耕韻和庚_二的音值倒過來，把庚_二韻擬為 aŋ，而後把庚_三韻改擬為 iæŋ，如此庚_三韻和清韻 iɛŋ 之間小韻互補的關係（兩韻合起來就等於一個三、四等韻如仙韻）也就容易解釋了。此外陸志韋把陽韻改擬為 iaŋ，這樣就可以回避將《切韻》的 a 音一概看做央元音的難處了。

根據這些經過修正的擬音，陸志韋（1947:57）認為輕唇化的條件就有兩個：

（1）撮唇音之後有介音 i；（2）後面的主元音是中後元音。

撮（撮口）唇音是帶「假合口」成分的唇音如 p^w 等，他認為凡是一等和三等的唇牙喉音都是撮口的。i 是二等介音，他認為唇牙喉音三等的介音是 i（合口是 iw）。除了撮口性和介音音值這兩點以外，陸志韋的說法和趙元任的假設完全一致。

1.4 邵榮芬（1982）在陸志韋擬音的基礎上再加了一些修改，結果他的韻母系統顯得更合理、自然，參看邵榮芬（1982:132-133）〈切韻韻母音值表〉。邵榮芬的系統仍可滿足陸志韋的輕唇化條件，只是邵榮芬把唇音的撮口成分取消了，並把

³ 陸志韋對這四韻音值的修改可以根據敦煌毛詩音（S.2729, P.3383）的反切結構原則來印證。毛詩音中唇牙喉音重紐 A 類（四等）字一般用 A 類字作切，重紐 B 類（三等）字則一般用 B 類字作切。庚_三、蒸、幽、侵韻唇音字在這條「類一致原則」中均表示 B 類的性質。參看平山久雄（1990）。

三等介音寫做 i (四等寫做 j)。按邵榮芬的擬音，三等唇音發生輕唇化的韻母及其音值如下：

東≡iuŋ、鍾 ioŋ、微 iəi、虞 io、廢 iəi、文 iuən、元 iən、陽 iaŋ、尤 iəu、凡 iəm

三等唇音沒有發生輕唇化的韻母及其音值如下：

支 iɛ、脂 iɪ、祭 iəi、真 ien、仙 iæn、庚 iaŋ、蒸 ieŋ、宵 iəu、幽 ieu、侵 iem、鹽 iæm

1.5 根據我們對切韻音系的音位解釋，上述諸韻的音值如下：⁴

產生輕唇化諸韻：東≡/iΛwŋ/、鍾/iawŋ/、微/iΛi/、虞/iuΛ/、廢/iΛi/、文/iuΛn/、元/ian/、陽/iaŋ/、尤/iΛu/、凡/iΛm/

未產生輕唇化諸韻：支/iɛ/、脂/iei/、祭/iai/、真/ien/、仙/ian/、庚/iaŋ/、蒸/ieŋ/、宵/iau/、幽/ieu/、侵/iem/、鹽/iam/

重紐的區別在於聲母帶有齶化因素 j 與否，⁵ 例如「斌」(真韻幫母三等) /pien/、「賓」(真韻幫母四等) /pjien/。重紐以外一般的三等唇牙喉音聲母則不帶齶化因素，例如「分」(文韻幫母三等) /piuΛn/。

根據我們的音位解釋，產生輕唇化的韻母其條件可歸納為：

(一) 有介音/i/；(二) 主要元音是後舌元音(即/Λ/和/a/)。

後舌元音中/Λ/在語音層次上多以央元音來實現，例如微韻/iΛi/ [iəi]，因此這兩個條件實際上亦與趙元任所提出的假設完全一致。

2. 輕唇化條件的語音學作用

⁴ 全體韻母系統的音位解釋參看平山久雄(1998:120〈表二〉; 2005:62)。

⁵ 參看平山久雄(1997:18-23; 2005:35-40)。

2.1 關於上面兩個條件中，條件（二）的語音學作用已經由趙元任（Chao 1940:224）說清楚了（參看本文 1.2 節所引），就是下頷的後退引起了下唇與上齒的接觸。我願意做一點補充：我們可以想像，在輕唇化的萌芽階段，下唇除了與上齒接觸之外還與上唇保持接觸，形成較軟的閉塞，而待閉塞破裂時，隨著下頷的後退，下唇就緊貼在上齒前面緩慢地往下挪移。我以為這麼一小段過程應該促進了摩擦成分的產生和發展。如果後面的元音是前舌的，那麼，下唇即使偶爾和上齒接觸，破裂之後也會立即離開上齒，不能發生摩擦。

2.2 關於條件（一）的語音學作用，我認為那應該是介音/i/所帶來的聲母齶化。在普通三等韻裡由於唇牙喉音聲母不帶齶化因素/j/，介音/i/應該作為稍微偏央、偏低的 [ɪ] 來實現，但它也能給聲母添上一些齶化色彩。唇音的齶化即使是較弱的，也能使嘴角多少往左右扯開，這樣就會增加下唇與上齒接觸的寬度，這當有利於產生擦音。

我們認為：輕唇音應該是經過 [p] > [pʰ] > [pf] > [ʰf] > [f] 的過程演變而成的，它並沒有經過帶雙唇擦音 [ɸ] 的階段。

2.3 現代非官話方言除了閩語以外大多也曾經過了唇音聲母的輕唇化，但在這些方言明母白話音一般（除新湘語以外）未變輕唇，保持雙唇/m/。其原因可以推測如下：

唐代的北方方言有過鼻音聲母的口音化趨向，如/m/作[mb]，/n/作[nd]等，那麼由/m/輕唇化產生的/mʷ/也當做 [mʷ] 來實現，這樣就可以靠口音成分的音色容易聽出和/m/ [mb] 的不同了。假定南方方言沒有發生口音化，那麼即使/m/一旦經過輕唇化而變為/mʷ/也會在聽感上和/m/接近，因而它又變回/m/了。我們可以注意：在明母未變輕唇的這些方言中，日母的白話音一般也保持鼻音，如 n, ŋ, ɲ。這應該也跟鼻音聲母未曾口音化有關。只有粵語廣州話例外，日母是 j。不過粵語中也有日母讀鼻音的方言。⁶

3. 東三韻、尤韻的明母為什麼沒有輕唇化？

⁶ 參看袁家驊等（1989:201）。

3.1 明母在東韻三等、尤韻中沒有變成輕唇微母，如「夢」、「目」、「謀」的聲母現在仍讀雙唇音 *m*。是什麼原因控制了這兩韻的明母，使它脫離輕唇化？爲了回答這一問題，我們可以根據李榮（1956）〈單字音表〉裡列出的《王三》反切來觀察東韻、尤韻唇音小韻反切的情況。東韻沒有與此相配的上聲。尤韻上、去聲沒有明母小韻，因此下面只列平聲。

	平聲東韻		去聲送韻		入聲屋韻		平聲尤韻	
幫	風	方隆	諷	方鳳	福	方六	不	甫鳩
滂	豐	敷隆	贈	孚鳳	蝮	芳伏	彪	匹尤
並	馮	扶隆	鳳	馮貢	伏	房六	浮	縛謀
明	瞢	莫中	夢	莫諷	目	莫六	謀	莫浮

一看這表，我們就能知道，幫、滂、並母小韻的反切上字都是三等字，符合三等反切採用三等上字的通例；明母小韻的反切上字則違反通例而一概採用了一等字「莫」。這當是有相應的語音基礎的。在其他韻裡後來變爲微母的明母小韻則均用三等上字，與幫、滂、並母的小韻的情況並無兩樣。

3.2 在解釋東韻、尤韻明母小韻反切上字的這一特點上，我覺得高本漢的看法十分高明。高本漢據此就擬定，這兩韻的明母是不 *j* 化的，所以免掉了輕唇化。在高本漢（1940）〈方言字彙〉的標音裡這兩韻的明母字都沒有帶 *j*，如「謀」*mǐǔ*（比較「浮」*bjǐǔ* 等）、「目」*mǐuk*（比較「福」*pjǐuk* 等）。

當然我們不能把 *j* 的有無看作音位性的不同，它只不過是語音上的差別，但凡是音位的分歧發展既然發源於一個音位在不同環境下的語音差別，高本漢著眼於此就很值得讚揚。按照我們的看法來說，由於東韻、尤韻的明母沒有帶齶化，因此反切作者特地採用了一等上字「莫」。

3.3 那麼三等明母爲什麼只有在東韻、尤韻裡不帶齶化呢？根據我們對中古漢語的音位解釋，東韻爲 */iɿwŋ/*（入聲 */iɿwk/*）、尤韻爲 */iɿu/*，介音、主要元音相同，韻尾也都是帶圓唇性質的。在語音層次上，*/iɿwŋ/* 應該是 *[iǔwŋ]*、*/iɿu/* 應該是 *[iǔu]*。我們可以推測：這兩種韻母韻尾裡的合口成分通過短 *[ə]* 音壓迫了介音 *[i]*，使它變弱（但未至脫落），尤其在明母 *m* 後面弱到已經難以對聲母起齶化作

用的程度。這應該是因爲明母是鼻音，口腔氣壓較低，因而雙唇的閉合持續的時間會比其他唇音長一些的緣故。黃笑山（1995:155）說明母是「久音」，就當意味著這一特點。

學者多認爲，東_三韻、尤韻的明母字沒有輕唇化是因爲它失落了介音而變爲一等的緣故。我認爲介音/i/的脫落是稍後產生的變化，在《切韻》反切所代表的音系中，介音/i/並沒有失落，只是在語音層次上經過弱化，喪失了使明母帶齶化的能力。這兩韻的明母字（一）脫離輕唇化和（二）變爲一等都要算是介音/i/在語音上弱化的產物，（一）、（二）雖然都是同根的，但不能把（二）視爲（一）的直接原因。

3.4 上面把東_三韻解釋爲/i_Λwŋ/（屋_三韻/i_Λwk/）、尤韻解釋爲/i_Λu/。其中用韻尾/wŋ/、/wk/來解釋東_三韻、屋_三韻，這也許令人難以理解。爲了說明這一點，讓我把平山久雄（1998:121-122；2005:63-64）的一段錄於下面供讀者參考：

對東、屋韻的韻尾是/wŋ//wk/的擬測，敦煌《毛詩音》提供了一個有利的材料。

敦煌發現的《毛詩音》S.2729、P.3383⁷ 兩種殘卷裡東、屋韻三等的反切一般用開口的上字，例如「蠡，支崧」（S.272:11 行）、「鞠，己六」（S.2729:18 行）。《毛詩音》裡上字的開合照例和被切字一致：被切字開口，上字也是開口；被切字合口，上字也是合口。這「開合一致原則」的實際作用當是：合口字的聲母自然帶有唇化，開口字的聲母則不帶唇化，因而造反切時有意把上字的聲母選得和被切字同樣地帶或不帶唇化，那麼念反切時就會很順口。敦煌《毛詩音》裡的東、屋韻三等的反切照例用開口上字，這就意味著東、屋韻三等字的聲母沒帶唇化，那麼與其給它擬圓唇的主要元音，不如擬唇化韻尾/wŋ//wk/來說明這一點更合適：韻尾的圓唇性多少使主要元音帶上圓唇，但介音/i/會阻擋圓唇作用影響到聲母上。東、屋韻一等則照例用合口的上字，這是因爲一等沒有介音/i/，韻尾的圓唇作用能一直傳到聲母上面。

關於敦煌《毛詩音》及其反切特點，請參看平山久雄（1990）。

⁷ 原文將 P.3383 誤做 S.3383。

4. 輕唇音作為音位分化的年代

4.1 在討論輕唇音以及輕唇化的時候，我們需要對語音性的輕唇和音位性的輕唇加以區別。雙唇塞音帶唇齒擦音的成分，應該是在中古時期以前早已發生，而逐步發展過來的語音變化，它未必意味著輕唇音的獨立。輕唇音作為音位的獨立，則應該是隨著《切韻》以後韻母系統大為簡化而出現的一種區別音節功能的替代現象，正如聲調的陰陽替代了聲母清濁的區別那樣。在八世紀末的《慧琳音義》反映的音系中，同攝、同等的韻母大多合併為一，⁸ 其中包括重紐三等和「純三等」的合併，如脂韻三等和微韻、仙韻三等和元韻。結果牙喉音字發生了大量的同音化，如「飢」（脂韻開口三等見母）和「饑」（微韻開口見母）變得同音了；唇音字則由於語音上的輕唇化已經十分明顯，唇音重輕之別便替代了主要元音的區別功能，仍能保持不同音。⁹ 這一變化前後的情況可以用下面的例字來表示：

	《切韻》		《慧琳音義》
「悲」（脂韻三等幫母）	/piei/ [piɪ]	>	/piəi/ [piɪ]
「飛」（微韻幫母）	/piɛi/ [pʰiəi]	>	/fiəi/ [fiɪ]

這一類的韻母合並沒有牽涉到東三韻、鍾韻、虞韻和陽韻，但這些韻裡的唇音字也隨著其他韻裡的變化而歸屬於輕唇一邊，例如：

「風」（東三韻幫母）	/pʰiɛwɨ/ [pʰiəwɨ]	>	/fiəwɨ/ [fʰiəwɨ]
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我認為，音位上的輕唇化和介音*/i/*的失落並不一定是同時發生的，*/i/*在輕唇音位獨立之後還會暫時保存下來，即使它在語音上已變得相當微弱。《慧琳音義》裡輕唇音反切間或用牙喉音三等下字可證。

4.2 有些唐代以前及唐初資料的反切用字裡輕唇音和重唇音已基本分化為二，如《篆隸萬象名義》，參看張潔（2002:44）。這可解釋為語音上的輕唇化已相當明顯

⁸ 參看黃淬伯（1931）。

⁹ 麥耘在中國音韻學研究會第十一屆學術討論會（2000年8月，於徐州師範大學）的討論中也指出了這一點。

的反映，但對於輕唇音作為音位已分化與否，則應該考慮整個音系的情況來判定。

可能有人認為，《切韻》的反切裡也有輕唇化的反映，因為輕唇字基本都以輕唇字作切，雖然重唇字也有不少是以輕唇字作切的。但這並不是唇音特有的情況，牙喉音也有與此平行的現象。

我們將唇牙喉音重紐四等字叫做 A 類，重紐三等字叫做 B 類，重紐以外一般的唇牙喉音三等字叫做 C 類，C 類唇音就是要輕唇化的。在《切韻》的反切裡，A 類上字只能用在 A 類反切，B 類上字只能用在 B 類反切，C 類上字則對 A 類反切、B 類反切和 C 類反切都是可以通用的，¹⁰ 例外極少，除了 A 類上字「匹」的使用範圍和 C 類上字相同以外。這就是說，C 類反切不管是唇音還是牙喉音，都只採用 C 類上字。因此我們難以根據輕唇字幾乎全都以輕唇字作切來證明在《切韻》音系中輕唇音音位已經存在，只不過可以根據 A 類反切、B 類反切中採用 C 類上字的比例在唇音遠遠低於牙喉音的事實來推測，¹¹ C 類唇音在語音上已有一定程度的輕唇化趨向。唇牙喉音 A、B、C 三類在反切結構上的這一關係，在中古時期的其他反切資料中似乎也同樣存在。而在不同的反切資料中，唇音 A 類反切、B 類反切採用 C 類上字的比例（換言之唇音輕重混切的比例）有大小不同，我以為這當決定於兩種因素：（一）在其基礎音系中語音性的輕唇化進行的程度；（二）反切作者對這一語音現象敏感或重視的程度。

¹⁰ 參看平山久雄（1997:14-15；2005:33-35）。這裡所謂「A 類反切」是被切字為 A 類的反切，「A 類上字」則是屬於 A 類的反切上字，他皆仿此。

¹¹ 參看平山久雄（1997:24-25；2005:41-42）。

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Some Problems on the Emergence of Dentilabialization

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The dentilabialization of bilabial initial consonants in Middle Chinese is one of the important phonemic changes in the Tang Period. The condition for this change was that the word must have (1) a semivowel medial /i/ and (2) a main back vowel. The phonetic effect of (2) is that, as Chao (1940) has pointed out, a retracted position of the jaw would bring about the dentilabial contact, and the effect of (1) is that the palatalization of the consonant would enlarge the width of the contact. The fact that nasal /m/ in the rimes *Dong* III (東三) and *You* (尤) exceptionally did not receive dentilabialization could be explained by assuming a phonetic weakening of /i/ under the assimilation of rounded endings /wɨ/ and /u/. In the Wu and the Yue dialects /m/ generally was not dentilabialized. This may be related with the fact that these southern dialects have never experienced denasalization of nasal initials as in the Mandarin dialects. The dentilabialization in the phonemic sense should be regarded as a result of the merging of main vowels occurred in the middle of the Tang period.

Key words: dentilabials, dentilabialization, Middle Chinese, simplification of vowel systems

《唐蕃會盟碑》中的地名「將軍谷」^{*}

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1.

「谷」字在《廣韻》裡有三種讀音：

甲、古祿切。山谷，亦善也，窮也，又姓，漢有谷永，又欲、鹿二音。

乙、余蜀切。山谷。爾雅曰水注谿曰谷，說文曰泉出通川爲谷，亦虜三字姓吐谷渾氏，又音穀。

丙、盧谷切。漢書匈奴傳有谷蠡王，蠡音離。

唐寫本《唐韻》殘卷（蔣斧舊藏）¹ 已是這樣。此書入聲卅四韻以下載有：

甲'、「穀，古鹿反」下列「谷。山谷。亦養也，窮也，又姓，漢有谷永，又欲、鹿二音。」

乙'、「欲，余蜀反」下列「谷。山谷。又音穀。」

丙'、「祿，盧谷反」下列「谷。漢匈奴傳有谷蠡王，蠡音離加。」

據周祖謨 (1983:912) 考證，

唐寫本《唐韻》殘卷：書中去聲「翰」韻「旦」字避睿宗諱缺筆作「𠂔」，入聲「職」韻「鄖」字注「新鄖縣在豫州」，「豫」字避代宗諱缺末兩筆作「𠂔」，代宗以後帝名都不避諱，據此推測此書可能寫於代

^{*} 本文寫作期間，蔣紹愚告知北方有帶「峪」的地名，鄭張尚芳告知「將軍谷」的資料。謹此向兩位先生表示衷心的感謝。

¹ 周祖謨編《唐五代韻書集存》下冊 641-729 頁是《唐韻殘卷》（蔣斧印本）的影印本。

宗之世〔762-779 年〕。

根據以上的資料，龔煌城 (2002:95-96, 206) 給「谷」(甲)、「谷」(乙)擬構上古音、中古音如下，並且指出它們在藏文、緬文中的同源詞。

漢	谷 (甲)	*kluk > kuk	‘valley’	山谷
	谷 (乙)	*luk > jwok	‘valley’	山谷
藏文		klung	‘river’	河川，川原，平川
		lung-pa	‘valley’	山谷
緬文		khyauṅ < *khlung	‘a valley, vale’	谷，峽谷
		khyâung < *khlûṅ	‘stream’	小溪，小河

眾所皆知，跟「穀」字同音的「谷」(甲)在歷代文獻中用例頗多，茲不贅。本文關心的是「谷」(乙) (*luk > jwok > yù 山谷) 的用例。

2.

《唐蕃會盟碑》(821-822 年) 西面漢文碑文說 (李方桂、柯蔚南 1987: 77)：

3. 蕃漢二國所〔守〕見〔管〕。 。 。 。 。 。 。 。
。已西盡是大蕃境土彼此不爲寇敵不舉
兵革不相侵謀封境 或有猜阻捉生問
事訖給以衣糧放歸 今社稷叶同如一
爲此大和然 舅甥相好之義善。
4. 每須通傳彼此相騎一。 。 。 。 。 。 。 。
。〔舊路〕蕃漢並於將軍谷交馬其綏戎柵
已東大唐祇應清水縣已西大蕃供應須合
舅甥親近之禮使其兩界煙塵不揚罔聞寇
盜之名復無驚恐之患封人撤備鄉土俱

盟約議及唐蕃通傳驛騎往來之路徑。一切皆依舊俗。唐蕃雙方信使皆於將軍谷換馬。吐蕃信使在綏戎柵與唐方會合，此地以東由唐方提供〔驛館及旅途物資〕，大唐信使則會蕃方於清水縣，此地以西由蕃方予以供給。

公元 762 年後，吐蕃軍隊逐步入侵現屬甘肅省的大片地區。唐朝雖尚能抗禦吐蕃侵入今之陝西省，但已無力阻擋吐蕃勢力盤據甘肅以及甘肅以西地域。

821-822 年的盟約雙方基本上承認 783 年和盟所明確約定之疆界。陝西西端與甘肅東端以隴山山脈為界，唐代隴山東邊是隴州，西邊是秦州。而隸屬秦州的清水縣 821-822 年在吐蕃勢力範圍之內。821-822 年的盟約把疆界劃在清水縣以東。

嚴耕望 (1985:364-370) 對長安西通隴右河西道的路徑作過詳細的考證，並制成〈唐代長安西通隴右河西道、河湟青海地區交通網合圖〉，此圖本文影印作為〈附錄〉。

按照此圖，吐蕃信使驛傳所取的路徑是：

(1) 從蘭州出發，歷經臨州、渭州、秦州（天水）到達清水縣（清水）。這一段都是在吐蕃勢力範圍之內。

(2) 離開清水縣，北上進入隴山山脈，開始進入大唐勢力範圍。第一站是將軍谷，雙方信使都在此地換馬；嚴耕望 (1985:365) 說：「蓋谷為唐蕃國界也，度其地當在 E106° 15' · N34° 45' 地段。」下一站是綏戎柵；從地名推測，是大唐軍旅的柵寨，駐少數兵馬作為前哨。再往東在山中前進，歷經分水嶺、大震關就到隴州。

《唐蕃會盟碑》西面藏文碑文裡，「將軍谷」、「綏戎柵」、「清水縣」分別轉寫為（李方桂、柯蔚南 1987:39）：

tsang kun yog	將軍谷	中古音	tsjang kjuen jwok
stse zhung cheg	綏戎柵		swi n̄zjung tshək
tseng shu hywan	清水縣		tshjäŋ sjwi yiwen

「谷」轉寫為藏文 yog，可見「谷」字在此處不讀「谷」（甲）的 kuk 而讀「谷」（乙）的 jwok。現代漢語的「將軍谷」用 Wade-Giles 來拼寫當是 Chiang-chün-yü。

3.

打開《中華人民共和國分省地圖集》(1987)、《中國地圖集》(1994)、《新編中國地圖冊》(1999)，都可以看到不少帶「峪」字的地名。

山西：羅峪口、胡家峪、煤峪口、西豹峪、叢羅峪、桐峪、沙石峪、王家峪、杏峪、曲峪、東峪、朱家峪

河南：文峪、賈峪

河北：北京附近：平峪、老峪溝、峪口、沙峪

北京以東長城一帶：長山峪、掛蘭峪、羅文峪、磨菇峪、黨峪、黃昏峪、長溝峪

陝西：螞蚱峪、子洲（雙湖峪）、湯峪（西安以南）

寧夏：蘇峪口

湖北：開峰峪

四川：竹峪

《漢語大詞典》（縮印本）1790 頁：

峪〔yù《集韻》俞玉切，入燭，以〕山谷。元王恽《沁水道中》詩：“蒼巔互出縮，峪勢曲走蛇。”清劉書年《劉貴陽說殘》：“兩山之間謂之峪，峪必有平地，數頃或數十頃不等”。又多用於地名，如沙石峪、嘉峪關等。

「峪」和「谷」（乙）是今古字的關係。《廣韻》(1008) 以及更早的韻書沒有「峪」字。《集韻》(1039) 收了這個字形。它的形成方式是在「谷」（乙）的左邊加上個「山」旁。

	上古	中古	現漢拼音	《廣韻》字形	現代字形
「谷」（甲）	*kluk	kuk	gǔ	谷	谷
「谷」（乙）	*luk	jwok	yù	谷	峪

唐代固然沒有「峪」這個字形，但當時的語言確實有「峪」所代表的語詞——jwok「山谷」。「將軍谷」的「谷」便是明證。此字以母燭韻，意思是「山谷」，又用於地名。如果漢字徹底「現代化」了，《唐蕃會盟碑》裡的地名可能要寫作「將軍峪」。

「谷」「峪」兩個字形分工以後人們逐漸忘卻「谷」字，還有「余蜀切」一讀。看到「將軍谷」這個地名會用 Wade-Giles 把它拼成 Chiang-chün-ku（李方桂、柯蔚南 1987:90），看到「峪」yù 字不知道它的來源是「谷」（乙）jwok > yù。下一節簡略地討論先秦的情況。

4.

4.1 「谷」字的諧聲系列包括以母的「欲，浴，裕」，邪母的「俗」字。「谷」字怎麼會跟以母字、邪母字諧聲？長久以來是上古音研究中的懸案。龔煌城(2002:206, 113) 說明(1)「谷」字在上古有兩讀 *kluk 和 *luk, (2)「俗」*ljuk > zjwok 與藏文 lugs「方法，方式，風尚」同源，因此「俗」的聲母從原始漢藏語到上古漢語一直是 *lj-。(3) 由此可知作為「俗」字聲符的是「谷」(乙) *luk 而不是「谷」(甲) *kluk > kuk。

換句話說，至少有兩種證據使我們相信上古漢語有「谷」(乙) 這個語詞：
(1) 它與藏文 lung-pa 同源，(2)「俗」字從「谷」(乙) 得聲。

4.2 郭店楚簡老子經常用「谷」來寫後來的「欲」字，用「浴」來寫後來的「谷」字，本文以為這兩種古今字的關係都說明「谷」(乙) 的存在。

甲、郭店《老子》甲「欲」寫作「谷」²

1. 視索(素)保僕(樸)，少厶(私)須(寡)欲。
2. 皐(罪)莫厚虐(乎)甚欲，咎莫僉(憊)虐(乎)谷(欲)得。
3. 以衍(道)差(佐)人主(主)者，不谷(欲)以兵強於天下。
4. 保此衍(道)者不谷(欲)端(尚)呈(盈)。
5. 聖人谷(欲)不谷(欲)，不貴難得之貨。
6. 我好青(靜)而民自正，我谷(欲)不谷(欲)。

郭店《緇衣》「欲」寫作「𩇛」

7. 古(故)君民者，章好以視民𩇛(欲)，……
8. 心好則體安之，君好則民𩇛(欲)之。

《師匄簋》「欲」寫作「谷」(《甲骨金文字典》865 頁)

9. 敬明乃心，𩇛(率)以及友干吾(敦敵)王身，谷(欲)女(汝)弗以乃辟函(陷)于𩇛。

郭店楚墓年代在公元前四世紀中葉至公元前三世紀初，此時可以看到「欲」這個字形的產生。在沒有這個字形以前，是用「谷」字來寫「欲」字。「郭店楚

² 郭店《老子甲》、郭店《緇衣》用文物出版社《簡帛書法選》：《郭店楚墓竹簡·老子·甲本》(2002)、《郭店楚墓竹簡·緇衣》(2002) 的版本。

簡『谷』字三十見，全部讀作『欲』。」（廖名春 2003:110）同時又產生兩個從「谷」得聲的字形：「欲」和「𪛗」。

「欲」字余蜀切 *luk > jwok，上古和中古與「谷」（乙）*luk > jwok 同音，與「谷」（甲）*kluk > kuk 不同音。很明顯的，上面 1-9 作為聲符的「谷」字以及單獨出現的「谷」字都應該讀作「谷」（乙）*luk。

乙、郭店《老子》甲「谷」寫作「浴」

10. 江海（海）所以為百浴（谷）王，以其能為百浴（谷）下，是以能為百浴（谷）王。

11. 卑（譬）道之才（在）天下也，猷（猶）少（小）浴（谷）之與江海（海）

戰國楚簡《容成氏》「谷」寫作「浴」³

12. 名浴（谷）五百。

「江海（海）所以為百浴（谷）王」這句，廖名春 (2003:28) 給「浴」字做的注釋說：

案：《說文·谷部》：「泉出通川為谷。從水半見，出於口。」《爾雅·釋水》：「水注川曰谿，注谿曰谷。」「谷」為兩山間的水流，此「浴」字從谷從水，為「谷」字的繁化。今本《老子》「谷得一以盈」，「上德若谷」，帛書乙本皆作「浴」。信陽楚簡的「五浴」，楚帛書的「山川滿浴」，「浴」皆為「谷」字的繁化。故書當作「谷」。

下面 30 頁繼續說：

由此可知，以上三句可釋作：江海所以為百谷王，以其能為百谷下，是以能為百谷王。是說：江海之所以能成為眾溪流之王，是因為它們能處於眾溪流之下，因此才能成為眾溪流之王。

本文認同廖名春的解釋。第三節看到「谷」字繁化寫成「谿」，這裡看到戰國時代「谷」字繁化寫成「浴」字，古人造字的心理和近人相同。再者，把

³ 《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書》（二），271-272 頁：《容成氏》第二十七簡、第二十八簡。

「谷」字解釋成兩山間的流水也能讀通「江海（海）所以爲百浴（谷）王」等三句。問題在於：廖氏所說的「谷」字是「谷」（甲）還是「谷」（乙）。

《廣韻》入聲燭第三：

谷，余蜀切。山谷。爾雅曰水注谿曰谷。說文曰泉出通川爲谷。亦虜三字姓吐谷渾氏，又音穀。

這段第一節引過。這裡重引是爲了與廖名春的注釋作比較。廖名春所引「《爾雅》『水注谿曰谷』」，「《說文》『泉出通川爲谷』」幾句《廣韻》也引，而且係在「谷，余蜀切」下。這似乎說明陳彭年等《廣韻》的編者認爲表示「山間之水流」，「溪流」的「谷」字應該讀余蜀切。易言之，「百浴（谷）王」的「谷」字也是「谷」（乙）。

結論：本文以唐代地名「將軍谷」的「谷」jwok 字爲出發點，說明《集韻》所收的「峪」字來自唐代的「谷」jwok，而且這個語詞以「磨菇峪」「螞蚱峪」等地名的身分活躍在北方口語中。回溯到先秦，「谷」（乙）*luk > jwok「山谷，河谷」的存在顯示在藏文同源詞 lung-pa「山谷」以及從「谷」字得聲的「俗，欲，裕」等字。末節企圖說明郭店《老子》「百浴（谷）王」的「浴（谷）」字也應該讀作 *luk，但我們的嘗試或許不太成功。

附錄：〈唐代長安西通隴右河西道、河湟青海地區交通網合圖〉



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The Place Name “Jiangjun Yu” in the Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-822

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The place name *Jiangjun Yu* 將軍谷 was transliterated as *tsang kun yog* in Tibetan. Hence, 谷 must have been pronounced as *jwok* in Middle Chinese and **luk* in Old Chinese. Written as 峪 during the Song, 谷 (with a *fanqie* reading of 余蜀) is still preserved in place names in present day north China. Pre-Qin 谷 **luk* was a cognate of *lung-pa* in Tibetan, both meaning ‘valley’. Characters such as 俗欲裕, etc, with 谷 as the phonetic indicator, further lend evidence to this ancient pronunciation.

Keywords: the Inscriptions of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-822 (唐蕃會盟碑),
phonetic compound, Old Chinese, 谷 (峪)

從上古到中古音韻演變的大要^{*}

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從上古到中古音韻演變的大要有三：聲母簡化、韻部重組、調別趨嚴。現在分別解說如下。

首先是聲母簡化。

上古聲母結合型態豐富，除了一般常見的單聲母之外，還有帶 **h**-聲母（或清響音聲母）、帶 **-l**-聲母、帶 **-r(j)**-聲母、帶 **s**-聲母，以及帶 **-w**-聲母（或圓唇聲母）。¹ 中古則只有單聲母一種。上古單聲母到了中古，有的原封不動，有的發生了發音部位或發音方法上的變化，如捲舌化、顎化、展唇化，或甚至弱化而消失。除了消失的不計外，基本上變化的結果仍是單聲母。表一是單聲母和帶 **-r(j)**-聲母的演變情形。²

表一 上古單聲母與帶 **-r(j)**-聲母演變表

	p ph b m	t th d n	k kh g ŋ	ts tsh dz s	ʔ h ɣ	r l
-V	p ph b m	t th d n	k kh ɣ ŋ	ts tsh dz s	ʔ h ɣ	l Ø
-r(j)V	p ph b m	ʈ ʈh ɖ ɳ	k kh ɣ ŋ	tʂ tʂh dʒ ʂ	ʔ h ɣ	- Ø
-jV	p ph b m	tʃ tʃh dʒ ɳ	k kh g ŋ	ts tsh dz s	ʔ h ɣ	l dʒ/ʒ
-iV	p ph b m	t th d n	k kh ɣ ŋ	ts tsh dz s	ʔ h ɣ	l Ø

上古帶 **h**-聲母、帶 **-l**-聲母、帶 **s**-聲母，以及帶 **-w**-聲母的演變，則傾向於

* 本文初稿曾承審查人及丁邦新師惠賜修改建議，並指示應該繼續探討的問題，十分感謝。

¹ 其中帶 **-r**-聲母，因為與中古以後二等韻的形成關係密切，也可以看成是單聲母在 **-rV** 前分佈的一種，與單聲母在 **-jV** 前的分佈同類。

² 表中第一橫列為上古聲母，方左第一直欄為韻母類型，其他則為中古聲母。本文上古、中古聲母擬音依據李方桂（1971）、Ting（1980）、龔煌城（2002）而稍有折衷，細節不贅，請讀者自行檢看。

將所帶的成分丟失或轉化，演變的結果為單聲母：

hm-, hŋ-, hŋw- > h-
hl-, hn- > th-/th-
klj-, khlj-, glj-, ŋlj- > tsj-, tshj-, dzj-/zj-, ńj-
kwlj-, khwlj-, gwlj-, ŋwlj- > tsj-, tshj-, dzj-/zj-, ńj-
hlj-, hnj-, hrj- > sj-
sl-, sg- > zj-
kw-, khw-, gw-, ŋw-, ʔw-, hw-, ɣw- > k-, kh-, g-, ŋ-, ʔ-, h-, ɣ-

這種演變至遲從秦漢之際就已經開始，一直進行到東漢末，歷時四百年。³
表二是目前所見的始見年代的比較：

表二 聲母始見演變年代

聲母演變	始見年代
h-C-音類的簡化	公元前 206-公元前 195
C-l-音類的簡化	公元前 156-公元前 5
C-r-音類的簡化	公元 150-公元 220
s-C-音類的簡化	公元 150-公元 220
帶-w-聲母的簡化	公元 127-公元 200

以下略舉一些例子作為演變的參考。

hm > h	馬王堆帛書：徽(hm) = ⁴ 諱(h)
hŋ > h	《白虎通義》：火(h)，化(hŋ)也
hn > th	孫炎：妥(hn)，他(th)果反
hl > h	劉熙：青徐以舌頭言之，天(hl)：坦(th)也
hlj > sj	三家詩：聲(hlj) = 星(s)
krj > tsj	馬王堆：拯(krj) = 振(tj)

³ 關於上古聲母演變的始見年代的詳細討論，請參看何大安（1999）。

⁴ 「=」表示同音或通假。

khrj > tshj	伏生：出（khrj）= 春（thj）
grj > dzj/zj	馬王堆：示（grj）= 是（dj）
tshr > tsh	佛經譯音：刹（tsr）= kṣatra
sr > ʃ	佛經譯音：瞿師（sr）羅 = ghoṣila
sk > s	三家詩：崧（sk）= 嵩（s）
sŋ > ŋ	許慎：五（ŋ）= 午（sŋ）
snj > n̥z	高誘：娥（snj）= 嵩（s）
sdj > s	佛經譯音：阿脩（sdj-）羅 = asura
sgj > z	佛經譯音：踰旬（sgj-）= yojana
kw > k	鄭玄：瓜（kw），工（k）花反
gw > g	鄭玄：狂（gw），求（g）方反

大體而言，上古帶 **h-**聲母、帶 **s-**聲母、帶 **-w-**聲母的前一個成分多半保留，而帶 **-l-**聲母、帶 **-r-**聲母、帶 **-w-**聲母的 **-l-**、**-r-**、**-w-**，也就是第二個成分——或援用後來的觀念稱之為「介音」——則在將其特徵修飾前後音之後轉而消失。起修飾作用的介音成分，或修飾前面的聲母使之捲舌化（如 **-r-**）或顎化（如 **-l-**），或修飾後面的韻母使之合口化（如 **-w-**）。其中 **-r-** 還有使元音央化進而產生中古二等元音的作用。⁵ 這樣看來，**-l-**、**-r-**、**-w-** 這些介音在上古到中古的音韻演變之中，佔有關鍵性的地位。由於他們在聲韻結合角色上的變動，觸發了聲韻的變化，由上古的聲繁韻簡，一變而為中古的聲簡韻繁。

其次是韻部重組。

上古、兩漢、魏晉，分別有上古二十二、二十九、三十七個韻部。⁶ 就韻部數目而言，相差不小。不過，從韻類的角度來看，或許沒有那麼大。上古有九個陰聲韻部帶有入聲，假如把入聲分列，就成為三十一個韻部，其陰陽入相配如表三：

表三 上古三十一部表

⁵ 請參看李方桂（1971）頁 23。

⁶ 這裡關於上古、兩漢、魏晉的韻部數目和下文討論的取材，都依據董同龢（1944）、羅常培、周祖謨（1958）、Ting（1975）。

何大安

之	職	蒸
幽	覺	中
宵	藥	
侯	屋	東
魚	鐸	陽
佳	錫	耕
歌		
祭	月	元
微	物	文
脂	質	真
	葉	談
	緝	侵
10	11	10

兩漢時期如表四：

表四 兩漢二十七部表

之	職	蒸
幽	覺	中
宵	藥	
魚侯	屋	東
	鐸	陽
佳	錫	耕
歌		
祭	月	元
脂微	質物	真文
	葉	談
	緝	侵
8	10	9

上古和兩漢的一個韻部，都包含許多中古依等分立的韻類。假如用同樣的辦

法去處理魏晉，那麼魏晉時期的韻部可以簡併為二十七個，如表五：

表五 魏晉二十七部表⁷

(之、幽→) 之哈	(職→) 職德	(蒸→) 蒸登
(幽、之、侯→) 幽	(覺、職→) 沃	(中、蒸、侵→) 冬
(宵、幽→) 宵豪	(藥、鐸→) 藥	
(魚侯→) 魚	(屋→) 屋	(陽→) 陽
		(東→) 東
(佳、歌、脂微→) 支	(錫→) 錫	(耕、陽、蒸→) 耕
(歌、魚侯、脂微→) 歌		
(祭→) 祭泰	(月、質物→) 月曷	(元、真文→) 元寒
(脂微、之、幽→) 脂	(質物→) 質	(真文→) 真
(脂微→) 皆		
	葉	侵
	緝	談
9	9	9

現在我們可以進行比較。兩漢比上古少四部，原因是「魚侯」、「脂微」、「質物」、「真文」兩兩合併。這些都是單向的合併，而且後三者還是平行演變。它們對整個韻部結構當然有影響；不過這種影響，可以在上一階段的音韻基礎上以「規律增加」(rule addition)來理解。增加的規律不多，前後兩個時期絕大多數的對應韻部都沒有什麼變動，可以說變化並不大。⁸

魏晉就大不相同了。魏晉有些韻部還是和兩漢對應得很好，如東、陽、屋、錫。也有的只是單向的合併，如藥鐸之為藥；或單向的分化，如祭之為祭泰。但有些韻部就複雜得多，他們往往是在多重的分合之後所形成的，如之、侯分為三，幽、脂微分為四，然後再分別與宵、魚、歌等的一部份重組為新的韻部。這些韻部，就很難與前一個時期對應。這種韻部的分合，就不是在前一個時期的基礎上簡單地增加規律，而是韻部「重組」(restructuring)了。漢魏之

⁷ 為了方便比較，表中各韻部仍依上古部名相稱。

⁸ 上古兩漢相對應的韻部之間也不是完全沒有變動。例如上古之部的「牛丘龜」等字西漢入幽部，西漢魚、歌兩部的「家華」、「奇為」等字東漢入歌、支兩部。不過這些字不多，他們可以是一項新變化的「露頭」，但在這個時期還只是個別行為，並沒有造成韻部結構的改變。

際，是從上古到中古韻部重組最劇烈的時代。當然，前後兩個時期還不至於不能溝通，但既有不少不容易對應的韻部，溝通上肯定有相當的難度。換句話說，兩漢魏晉之間，不是一種簡明的連續關係，像上古兩漢之間一樣。兩漢魏晉之間，有一道音韻的斷痕。

南北朝與魏晉之間，也有斷痕；不過沒有這麼劇烈。⁹ 比較值得注意的，是魏晉以後，因韻等而分立的韻部逐漸增多，顯示韻等的元音差異日形顯著。毫無疑問地，這是介音對元音的作用力與日俱增的緣故。然而部數雖然因此增加，卻並不代表演變更為複雜。因為就音韻史而言，受韻等的影響而有條件地分化，也只是單純的新增規律而已。

第三是調別趨嚴。

我們在觀察《詩經》和兩漢、魏晉、南北朝詩文用韻的時候，有一項關於異調通押數量和比例的統計，如表六：¹⁰

表六 詩文用韻的異調通押

	韻組數	通押數	通押比例
《詩經》	1,702	225	13.23%
兩漢	4,253	128	3.00%
魏晉	8,334	149	1.78%
南北朝	12,700	206	1.62%

這項統計中最突出的一點，就是異調通押的比例逐次遞減。這一特點顯示了什麼樣的音韻史意義，值得深入思考。

我們認為，異調通押比例逐次遞減，反映的是聲調分別的趨嚴；也就是聲調的地位越來越重要、聲調的界線越來越不可逾越。

聲調是音高的變化。只要聲帶一振動，就會有音高，也就開始出現了聲

⁹ 這一點我們曾經有過討論，請參看何大安（1981, 1994），這裡不再贅述。

¹⁰ 表六的統計，《詩經》部分取材自江舉謙（1964），其他則同前引諸家。不過在計算時，曾作部分調整。調整的原因，首先是在個別字的歸類上儘量依據當時系聯的結果，避免專主《廣韻》。例如「慶」字《廣韻》去聲，《詩經》中六次韻平，江舉謙（1964：86）遂以為古合調。但是若遵《詩經》韻例而作平聲，異調通押就可減少六次。這類情形，在《詩經》用韻的統計上經常發生。其次是去入通押的韻例，前人或以不同韻部間的合韻視之，現在也從聲調異同的觀點重新計算。由於不同的學者對這些問題可能有不同的見解和計算法，所得的數字或許會有出入。

調。所以聲調大體與帶音聲母、介音、元音、韻尾同終始，而延及整個音節。也因此，聲調與一個音節中的其他成分會重疊並存。當音節中的其他並存成分承擔或分攤了主要的辨義作用時，聲調只是辨義上的伴隨或冗贅成分。雖然客觀上確實存在，卻未必引人注意，也未必會成爲一項音韻單位。但是當音節中其他成分的辨義功能減弱或甚至喪失的時候，聲調就可能會取代成爲主要成分，成爲一項音韻單位，在說話者的聽感、語感上也會顯得格外分明，格外有必要加以區別。無疑地，這種辨義角色的轉移，必然是語音變化的結果。

漢語聲調最初是音節中哪一部分的伴隨成分或冗贅成分，我們不敢妄加猜測。但是《詩經》時代，平上去入已經具有音韻地位則絕無可疑（丁邦新 1981）。不過上古漢語的音節結構比中古複雜（丁邦新 1979），音節中各成分音韻角色之輕重，未必等齊。從上古到中古，音節結構逐步簡化。隨著音節結構簡化的同時，聲調作爲主要成分的地位日形顯著，或許不無可能。假如願意從辨義角色消長的觀點來思考，我們可以說，表六所反映的，是漢語聲調的音韻地位日漸突出，人們對聲調的掌握日益準確。

以上的推測，還需排除用調寬嚴不同的非語言因素。也就是說，因爲兩漢以下的詩文用韻都取諸文士，而《詩經》偏多民歌，異調通押的比例逐次遞減，可能是文學作品的創作尺度較民間歌謠爲嚴謹的緣故，無關乎聲調地位之是否升降。要澄清這一疑點，我們不妨把兩漢以下的民歌挑出來單獨觀察，假如民歌通押的比例高於表一同時期的總體比例，那麼這樣的質疑就是成立的；反之，則不成立。表七就是觀察的結果。

表七 民歌的異調通押

	韻組數	通押數	通押比例
兩漢	266	3	1.12%
魏晉	391	3	0.76%
南北朝	279	3	1.07%

因爲絕對數不多，一兩首的少數就會造成比例上的大差距，所以比例計算的誤差可能性一定存在。但是就表七看來，民歌異調通押的情形確實並不比文士更寬。因此用調寬嚴不會是一個相關的因素。我們對聲調角色升降的看法，應該可以成立。

關於聲調演變還可以注意的一件事，是個別字的字調流變。舉「狩」、

「慶」和表第一人稱的「予」為例，他們的流變如表八：

表八 字調流變舉例

	先秦	兩漢	魏晉	南北朝	《廣韻》
狩	上	去	去	去	去
慶	平	平~去	去	去	去
予	上	上	上~平	上~平	平

表八字例不多，但是有代表性。它說明個別字的字調流變是持續地進行的，並沒有明顯的時代斷限。換句話說，每個時期都可能因各種原因造成個別字調的變動。

從上古到中古音韻演變的大要，已如上述。最後，我們願意再指出兩點。第一，閩語有一四等不分、二三等不分以及不顎化的特點，這些特點顯示古漢語的介音成分在閩語之中作用甚微。相較之下，從上古到中古這一階段，介音成分的作用非常活躍，往往是啟動變化的關鍵。第二，漢魏之際的斷痕，對於音韻史的重建，別有啟發，值得留意。斷痕可能代表語言典範--也就是通語--的轉移。我們在作歷史解釋的時候應該特別小心，避免因遷就過於簡單的史觀，而模糊了傳承之際的曲折。

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Phonological Development from Old Chinese to Middle Chinese: An Outline

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The paper claims that simplification of initials, restructuring of rime categories, and increasing differentiation of tones are three main tendencies of phonological developments from Old Chinese to Middle Chinese. It also points out that the instability of medials, which triggered most of the changes of initial consonants and vowels, and the discontinuity of corresponding rime categories, which was caused by restructuring, are the most important features that characterize the phonological history of this period. Some detailed explanations are given as well.

Key words: Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, phonological developments,
simplification, restructuring, differentiation, instability,
discontinuity

關於方言語音歷史層次的研究

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關於漢語方言語音的歷史層次，已經引起了越來越多的學者的關注。漢語方言大多有千年以上的歷史，各種方言的形成和發展都有自己獨特的過程。造成這些不同的過程、形成不同的特點的因素是多方面的。從社會外部因素說，形成的時代不同、移民的來源地不同、經過的地區不同、融合的民族不同，以及由於人口多少、分佈地域大小、經濟文化發展程度的高低、歷史演變過程的複雜性的不同等等，都會影響方言語音的層次構成。從語言的內部因素說，方言受不同時代通語的制約度不同，方言自身演變速度不同，相處的周邊方言和語言不同，接觸中所受的影響度也不同，作為現代的共時結構系統，不同的方言有不同的整合力，語音演變與詞彙、語法的演變之間的相互作用力也不同（例如詞義延伸是否引起字音的異讀，詞的多音化與語法化是否造成音值的變異和音類的分合）等等。這些因素則是影響方言語音歷史層次不同表現的更直接的因素。

由於這些內外因素的差異，不同方言的語音歷史層次的形成往往有各種不同的類型，有的單純、層次少，有的複雜、層次多；不同的層次的構成也往往有不同的方式，有的相互取代和覆蓋，有的相互疊置和共存。可見，研究方言語音的歷史層次不能從單一的視角出發，例如只與上古音、中古音作比較，只參照通語不參照方言和外族語言；也不能用單一的模式作分析，例如就語音論語音，只考慮歷時演變不考慮共時整合。本文試就這些問題聯繫閩方言的事實提出若干看法，求證於方家。

1. 縱向發展與橫向變化

應該說，任何語言的演變都有兩種動因，一是同一種語言的自身的流變，一是不同語言的接觸造成的外來影響。前者是必有的動因，經常是起主要作用的，後者的作用有大有小，但卻是不容忽視、不可漠視的。就漢語方言說，民族遷徙中往往有不同民族的融合，移民形成新方言時常常有經停地，形成方言之後也不

可避免要接受通語、不同民族語或周邊方言的影響。任何純之又純的單一方言的“祖語”的流變的構擬都是不符歷史事實的。南片吳語所以和北片有異主要是與閩語糾纏多；客方言曾被描寫為純正的“中原古音”，後來被證明了與唐五代西北方音、宋代通泰方音有關，在贛時與贛語同行共變，入粵後又與粵語相互影響，早就不純正了。有人構擬過“原始閩語”，用來解釋現代閩語的種種差異，多數學者也正是認為該理論無視語言接觸的影響而不能接受。例如閩北方言中有一些清塞音（主要是幫端二母）變讀為濁音聲母，據近年來研究顯然與吳、贛、粵等方言裏時隱時現的從前喉塞音 ʔb 、 ʔd 蛻變而來的濁聲母是相關連的。在海南閩語，幫端二母字大多都還讀為 ʔb 、 ʔd ，這是閩方言中殘留的古越語底層現象的確證。又如閩東方言部分常用從母字白讀音為 s- 聲母；閩北方言部分常用禪母字白讀音則為零聲母：

福州：	賤 siaŋ^6	坐 sɔŋ^6	資 si^2	臍 sai^2
	前 seŋ^2	靜 saŋ^6 （止哭）	稠 seu^2 （經常）	在 sai^6 （放置）
建甌：	城 iaŋ^3	薯 y^3	匙 i^3	常 iaŋ^3
	社 ia^8	屬 y^8	實 i^8	上 iaŋ^8
	邵（邵武） iau^8			

這兩項少數常用字的特殊讀音顯然都是受北邊鄰界的吳方言影響的結果。前者的變化過程是 $\text{dz} \rightarrow \text{z} \rightarrow \text{s}$ ，後者則是 $\text{ʔ} \rightarrow \text{j} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ，而在距吳語較遠的閩中、閩南則沒有這類對應。在閩北方言的西片（建陽、武夷山）還有把古清從初昌等母字讀為 t^h （如建陽：青草＝生炒 $\text{t}^h\text{aŋ}^1\text{t}^h\text{au}^3$ ），把透定徹澄等母字讀為 h （如建陽：兔腿 ho^5hui^3 ，柱頭 $\text{hiu}^5\text{həu}^2$ ）則和武夷山兩側的贛東方言（南城、撫州一帶）類似，這顯然是受贛語影響的結果。

不論是古民族語的“底層”或周邊方言的影響，橫向作用的語音變異，都可能造成不同的語音歷史層次的並存。上文所述幫端母字在閩北方言的濁音化，禪母字在建甌話讀為零聲母，從母字在閩東方言讀為 s- 聲母，都只出現於部分常用字，作為白讀音與其他未發生這種音變的字並存疊置。

由此可見，探討方言語音的歷史層次不能把思路局限於單一古今語的縱向演變上，也要注意考察因語言接觸造成的橫向變化如何構成不同的語音歷史層次。

2. 繼承和創新

在研究方言語音的歷史層次的時候，還有一種思維定式，就是只注重發掘前

代語言的繼承和留存，而忽略考察方言語音的變異和創新；只注重作音類分混的比較分析，而忽略音值演變過程的考察。事實上，語言的演變過程中，繼承和創新本來就是相依存、相對立、相消長的。沒有繼承，語言就難以世代相傳；沒有創新，也難以適應社會生活的需求，無法前進。繼承的習慣對創新是排斥、抵抗的；而創新的需要對繼承是衝擊、反抗的。語言的發展是漸變的，又繼承，又創新，二者並存是常態，其結果便是新舊歷史層次的成分的疊置。繼承的習慣勢力強大，有時也會排除創新，然而更多的情況是創新的積累形成了優勢，使繼承的成分成為殘存的少數，於是造成了方言的分化或語言演變的劃出新的時期。可見，研究方言語音的歷史層次，必須採取動態的考察方法，既注意考察前代語言的繼承和留存，也分析後代語言的變異和創新，把二者結合起來，才能得出語音史的真切結論。

中古音止攝四個重韻中，閩方言支韻字的讀音引起了許多研究家的興趣，而最引人注目的是少數字在閩語中白讀音為低元音 a，反映了上古音歌支同部的史實。事實上，如果拿各地閩方言的不同表現作一番比較分析，人們還可以看到支韻字在古今演變中的完整的過程，對體現其中的歷史層次有更多的理解。且看若干例字在五種閩語中的各種讀音（凡有文白異讀的只取白讀）：

	皮	被	糜粥	避	紫	刺	徙
福州	phui ²	phuoi ⁶	mui ²	pie ⁶	tsie ³	tshie ⁵	sy ³
建甌	phœ ⁵	phœ ⁶	mi ³	phi ⁶	tsu ³	tshu ⁵	su ³
永安	phue ²	phue ⁸	mue ²	pe ⁵	tsɿ ³	tshɿ ⁵	si ³
泉州	phə ²	phə ⁴	bə ²	pi ⁶	tsi ³	tshi ⁵	sua ³
廈門	phe ²	phe ⁶	be ²	pi ⁶	tsi ³	tshi ⁵	sua ³

	池	紙	施灑落	寄	倚立	蟻	倚
福州	tie ²	tsai ³	sie ¹	kie ⁵	khie ⁵	ɲie ⁶	ai ³
建甌	ti ³	tsyɛ ³	si ¹	kuɛ ⁵	kuɛ ⁸	ɲyɛ ⁶	ue ³
永安	te ²	tsya ³	sɿ ¹	kya ⁵	khya ⁸	ɲya ³	i ³
泉州	ti ²	tsua ³	sua ¹	ka ⁵	kha ⁴	hia ⁴	ua ³
廈門	ti ²	tsua ³	sua ¹	kia ⁵	khia ⁶	hia ⁶	ua ³

從以上各種讀音可以看到支韻字的韻腹音值有三種類型。①低元音的 a: a、ia、ua、ya，這些字從諧聲關係說與果假攝有關（聲符帶“也、可、我”），上古音是歌、支合部的。這顯然是保留上古低元音的殘跡，牽涉的字也較少。②中高元音 e、ɛ、œ、ə，這些字的聲旁與上類相似，只是元音高化了，反映的是上古韻腹到中古普遍表現為高化的趨向，屬於後起的中古層次。③高元音 i、u、y，這些字大體與上古歌支合韻無關，反映的是中古以後的語音變異。從地域表現看，a、ia、ua、ya 的讀法主要見於閩中、閩南，語音變化上有不同的進程。由此可見，就某個音類系統地考察多種方言的語音歷史層次，只要能兼顧繼承和創新的全面分析，就能得到多方面的訊息。

在聲母方言，匣母字在閩語的不同歷史層次的讀音也是引人注目的。其中也包含著繼承和創新。

中古音匣母和群母互補，上古音匣、群母通諧，關係密切。閩方言的匣母字中有些常用字普遍讀為 k、kh 聲母，和群母相同。另一些常用字則讀為零聲母，許多不大常用的書面語用字則讀為 h 聲母，和曉母相同。這就明顯地分為三個不同的歷史層次。例如：

	猴	厚	鹹	寒	行走
福州	kau ²	kau ⁶	kɛiŋ ²	kaŋ ²	kiaŋ ²
建甌	ke ³	ke ⁸	keiŋ ³	kueŋ ³	kiaŋ ³
永安	kø ²	kø ⁸	kum ²	kuĩ ²	kiõ ²
廈門	kau ²	kau ⁶	kiam ²	kuã ²	kiã ²

	鞋	解曉也	下	話	旱	黃	畫	丸
福州	ɛ ²	a ⁶	a ⁶	ua ⁶	aŋ ⁶	uoŋ ²	ua ⁶	uoŋ ²
建甌	ai ³	o ⁸	a ⁸	ua ⁸	ueŋ ⁸	uaŋ ³	ua ⁸	yeŋ ³
永安	e ²	e ⁸	ɒ ⁸	uɒ ⁸	um ⁵	m ²	uɒ ⁵	yeiŋ ²
廈門	ue ²	ue ⁸	e ⁶	ue ⁶	uã ⁶	ŋ ²	ue ⁶	ĩ ²

在沿海閩語，讀為 k 聲母和零聲母的字還多，和閩中相比，閩北也略多。例

如：

	懸高	下低	汗	含	糊	滑
福州	kɛiŋ ²	kia ⁶	kaŋ ⁶	kaŋ ²	ku ²	kouŋ ⁸
建甌			kueŋ ⁶	kaiŋ ³		
廈門	kuãi ²	ke ⁶	kuã ⁶	kam ²	kɔ ²	kut ⁸
永安	kyɛiŋ ²					

	餡	閑	活	學	紅	後	換
福州	aŋ ⁶	ɛiŋ ²	uaŋ ⁸	ɔŋ ⁸	øyŋ ²	au ⁶	uaŋ ⁶
建甌	aŋ ⁶	aiŋ ³	ue ⁸	ɔ ⁸	ɔŋ ³		
廈門	ã ⁶	iŋ ²	ua ⁸	oŋ ⁸	aŋ ²	au ⁶	uã ⁶
永安							

在閩中、閩北，水稻說“禾”，建甌音 o⁵、永安音 ue⁵。可見，常用字留存早起層次的音多，沿海比山區留存舊音多，這是可以成立的。很顯然，讀 k 的字是匣、群尚未分工時留下的舊層，讀爲零聲母是中古匣母的 fi 剛脫落濁音時的音，而更多的讀爲 h 聲母的不常用於口語的字則是中古匣母清化與曉母合流後的近代音，是最晚的層次。例字如：侯、鹹、函、洽、嫌、協、韓、莧、轄、賢、玄、穴、痕、很、恨、桓、還、患、魂、混、換、杭、航、鶴、皇、巷、項、杏、幸、形、宏、鴻、獲。

3. 主流和支流

方言語音的演變有主流，也有支流。對於縱向發展和橫向變化來說，古今語的縱向流變通常是方言語音演變的主流；通語、民族語和周邊方言的橫向作用則往往只能是支流。如果支流的流量大、影響廣，有時也會傷筋動骨使整個方言語音的面貌變得模糊不清。例如海南島上的多種語言，不論是“臨高話”、海南閩語，或是儋州話、邁話，都有類似的情形。前兩者的壯語和閩南語的性質已經引起了一些人的懷疑，後兩者如何確定其方言屬性則有更多爭議。這是支流衝擊主

流的例子。類似的情況還常見於一些遠離本土的方言島，由於包圍方言的影響大，支流淹沒了主流，造成方言性質的模糊。在統一語言的古今演變上，對於繼承和創新來說，更常見的是繼承是主流，創新則往往只是支流。在特定的情況下，例如移民的大規模變動，也會造成創新勝過繼承的結果。粵語的四邑片和廣府片原本應該是相當接近的同區方言，後來可能是由於宋代珠璣巷移民帶來的方言在珠江三角洲的覆蓋力度太大，造成兩片之間的不小差異。廣府片繼承早期粵語的特點顯然是少了。這是支流衝擊主流的另一種情況。

所謂主流就是古今語言演變中的基本對應，就音類的演變說往往是管字多的大音類的主要對應。所謂支流則是外來影響或自身變異創新的次要對應。主流和支流的並存也就是方言語音存在著不同的歷史層次的基本原因。由於主流、支流的的不同，方言語音的歷史層次也有主要層次和次要層次之別。

研究方言語音的歷史層次必須區分主要層次（主流）和次要層次（支流）。前代語言的特徵被後來的語言事實取代、淹沒了，留下的殘跡有時並不容易被發現、被理解，一旦被發現了，就受到很大的關注，這是容易理解的。關於漢語方言語音的歷史層次的研究往往就是從這類發現開始的，這種研究對於瞭解古今語音的變化過程和觀察方言的特點都是十分重要的。但是，我們還是必須保持清醒的頭腦，分清主流和支流，分清主要層次和次要層次，不能片面誇大那些次要的特徵，漠視主流變化和主要層次，甚至模糊了我們對方言基本性質的視線。下文仍舉兩個閩方言的例子說明。

山攝開口四等先韻字在閩方言有幾種存在著對應的不同歷史層次的讀音：

	肩	繭	牽	筓	先	填	蓮
福州	kɛiŋ ¹	kɛiŋ ³	khɛiŋ ¹	tsheŋ ³	sɛiŋ ¹	tɛŋ ²	leiŋ ²
建甌	kaiŋ ¹	kaiŋ ³	khaiŋ ¹	thiŋ ³	saiŋ ¹	taiŋ ⁵	laiŋ ²
永安	kĩ ¹	kĩ ³	khĩ ¹	tshĩ ³	sɛiŋ ¹	tĩ ²	nɛiŋ ²
泉州	kuĩ ¹	kuĩ ³	khan ¹	tshui ³	suĩ ¹	tuĩ ²	nuĩ ²
同安	kāi ¹	kāi ³	khan ¹	tshāi ³	sāi ¹	tāi ²	nāi ²

	硯	天	邊	年	見	眠	憐
福州	ɲieŋ ⁶	thieŋ ¹	pieŋ ¹	nieŋ ²	kien ⁵	miŋ ⁵	leiŋ ²
建甌	ɲieŋ ⁶	thieŋ ¹	pieŋ ¹	nieŋ ³	kien ⁵	meiŋ ⁵	leiŋ ³
永安	ɲi ⁵	theiŋ ¹	peiŋ ¹	ɲeiŋ ²	keiŋ ⁵	mã ²	nã ²
泉州	hi ⁶	thi ¹	pi ¹	ni ²	ki ⁵	biŋ ²	liŋ ²
同安	hi ⁶	thi ¹	pi ¹	ni ²	ki ⁵	biŋ ²	liŋ ²

以上所列讀音凡有文白讀的只取白讀音。從這些白讀音看，除了個別字，都有洪音的讀法，但是其中“眠、憐”二字多與前面各字不同韻而與臻攝的“民、鄰”同韻，應是保留了諧聲時代的讀音（屬上古的真部而非寒部），其餘各字如果聯繫文讀音來考察則出現了三種不同情況。在閩東（福州）閩南（泉州、同安）大多數字都有 ieŋ 或 ian 的文讀音；在閩北（建甌）只有個別字有文白兩讀（如先 sieŋ¹—saiŋ¹），其餘字都分別歸入洪細兩種讀音（如片 phieŋ⁵，電 tieŋ⁶、千 tshaiŋ¹、前 tshieŋ⁵、堅 kien¹、研 ɲaiŋ³、現 hieŋ⁶）；在閩中（永安）則是唇、舌、齒字除個別字外都讀洪音，牙喉音反之多讀細音（如片 pheŋ⁵、電 teiŋ⁵、千 tshieŋ¹、前 tsheŋ²、練 leiŋ⁵、見 keiŋ⁵、堅 keiŋ¹、研 ɲeiŋ²、賢 ɕieiŋ²、現 ɕieiŋ⁵、煙 ieŋ¹、燕 ieŋ⁵）。從上述材料可以看到：①閩方言的先韻字確實普遍存在著少數口語常用字讀為洪音的白讀音，這應該是反映了唐代以前四等韻讀為洪音的特點，是最古老的歷史層次。永安話讀為洪音的字較多是因為唇、舌、齒的聲母的類推同化的結果。②先韻的韻母原是 an、ian，從現代閩語的讀音看來，其韻母的變化沿著韻腹的高化、複化和韻尾的鼻化轉化兩個方向：an→aiŋ→eiŋ→iŋ；an→ãi→ui→i。eiŋ、iŋ、ui、i 顯然是後起的變化，是屬於較晚的歷史層次。③從整體來說，讀為細音 ian（閩南）ieŋ（閩東、閩北）的字還是佔大多數。（福州、泉州音大體上都可以讀出文讀音。）這應該是宋元以來通語語音強大影響的結果。④不同的歷史層次中，最主要的層次還是文讀音 ian、ieŋ，正是它反映了後起的創新取代了早期的傳承的歷史事實。

還可以再舉一個聲母的例子。以母字中有一些口語常用字的白讀音在各地閩方言中有讀為 s 或 ts、tsh 聲母的，顯然反映了上古諧聲時代以母字和邪母字通諧的現象：余—徐，以—似，由—袖，延—涎，羊—祥，甬—誦。然而這類字覆蓋比較廣的只有 8 個字（含 9 個音）：

	蠅	翼翅	癢	簪	鹽醃	鹽食~	羸引誘	耀 炫耀，照耀	叶姓
福州	sin ²	siŋ ⁸	suŋ ⁶	sien ²	sien ⁶	sien ²	siaŋ ²	sieu ⁶	
建甌	saiŋ ⁵	sie ⁶	tsiŋ ⁸	saŋ ⁵					tsia ⁸
永安	sā ²	fiŋ ⁸	tsiam ⁸						tsia ⁸
廈門	sin ²	sit ⁸	tsiū ⁶	tsi ²	sī ⁶	sī ²	siā ²	tshio ⁶ ~路	

在廈門話還有另外 7 個字：液 sioŋ⁸ 手~：手汗，愚 sin⁶ 寵愛，延 tshian² 延宕，躍 tshiok⁸，揚 tshiū² ~粟：揚穀，瘍 siū² 起~：潰瘍，養 tsiū² 頭~：頭胎。

從以上材料看來，這類字表現最充分的只有 3 個字，各地表現參差的總共也只有 10 來個字，各點大多對不齊，完全是一種殘餘狀態。用它來說明閩語與上古音的某些聯繫是極好的材料，但是要用它來說明當代閩語的特徵，就顯得乏力了。因為以母字就在收字不多的《方言調查字表》中也有 115 個字，這十幾個字只是大桶中的一勺。

可見，分清不同歷史層次的主流和支流、主要層次和次要層次還是十分必要的。

4. 演化和整合

語言的發展，從縱向的觀點看是一種變化。有的音類一分為二，有的合二為一，有的是不同歷史層次的音類或音值的共存疊置；不少音值則有或多或少的變異和遷移、轉換。不論是音類的分合、疊置或音值的遷移、轉換，都不是雜亂無章的堆積，而是經過不同力度的共時的整合的。整合是從橫向的觀點看另一種演化：把不同歷史時期傳承下來的成分和發生的變異整合成的一個新的系統。歷時的演化與共時的整合是語言存在和發展的兩種基本形式。這兩種形式交替進行，相互作用，使語言既能承傳不斷，也能結構不散，表現了語言系統的不息的生命力。

研究方言語音的歷史層次的時候，學者們更多地關注不同的音類分合和音值表現是如何演化的，孰先孰後，先後之間經歷過甚麼樣的變化過程。誠然，這是研究方言語音歷史層次的基礎工作，是十分重要的。在這樣的基礎上，我們也應該研究，這些不同歷史層次的語音現象是如何整合成一個共時的結構系統的。

從共時的結構系統看，歷時的疊置表現為結構的重合。在共時的系統中，佔

主流地位的層次是常用的內層，處支流地位的層次是不常用的外層。任何語言的共時結構系統都是用常用的內層和若干等級不同的外層有機組成的。在語音上，有大小音類和主次語音結構規律構成的不同內外層；在詞彙上，有核心詞、基本詞、一般詞構成的內外層。上文所分析的主流、主要層次在共時系統中當屬於重要的內層，支流、次要層次則是次要的外層。

如果進一步考察不同歷史層次的語音在共時整合的過程中有哪些方式和手段，我們也不難發現，閩方言的事實也為我們提供了許多有益的啟發。下文也試舉數例說明之。

現代通語的影響和音類的條件制約可以區分不同的歷史層次的語音。方言的共時系統把這些不同歷時層次的音讀組成了常用與不常用、基本對應和條件對應的“內”與“外”的共時層次。例如蟹攝一等字，在開口哈韻閩語各點有如下音讀（有文白讀只取白讀）：

	胎	台	戴 _姓	袋	戴 _{~帽}	來
福州	thai ¹	tøy ²	tai ⁵	tøy ⁶	tai ⁵	li ²
建甌	tho ¹	to ³	tue ⁵	to ⁶	tue ³	le ⁵
永安	tha ¹	tha ²	ta ⁵	ta ⁵	tui ⁵	la ²
泉州	thə ¹	tai ²	tə ⁵	tə ⁶	ti ⁵	lai ²
廈門	the ¹	tai ²	te ⁵	te ⁵	ti ⁵	lai ²

	災	才	菜	開	改	愛
福州	tsai ¹	tsøy ²	tshai ⁵	khui ¹	kui ³	oy ⁵
建甌	tsue ¹	tso ³	tshε ⁵	khyε ¹	kai ³	o ⁵ , ue ⁵
永安	tse ¹	tse ²	tsha ⁵	kha ¹	ka ³	a ⁵
泉州	tsə ¹	tsai ²	tshai ⁵	khui ¹	kue ³	ai ⁵
廈門	tse ¹	tsai ²	tshai ⁵	khui ¹	kue ³	ai ⁵

在合口灰韻有如下音讀：

	杯	胚	配	妹	推	罪
福州	pui ¹	phui ¹	phuei ⁵	muei ⁵	thøy ¹	tsøy ⁶
建甌	po ¹	pho ¹	pho ⁵	pho ⁵	tho ¹	tso ⁸
永安	pui ¹	phui ¹	phui ⁵	mui ⁵	thui ¹	tsui ⁸
泉州	pue ¹	phə ¹	phə ⁵	bə ⁶	thə ¹	tsə ⁴
廈門	pue ¹	phe ¹	phe ⁵	be ⁶	the ¹	tse ⁶

	碎	回	灰	腿	對	塊
福州	tshøy ⁵	hui ²	hui ¹	thøy ³	tøy ⁵	khuai ⁵
建甌	tsho ⁵	o ³	xo ¹	tho ³	to ⁵	khue ⁵
永安	sup ⁵	xui ²	xue ¹	thui ³	tui ⁵	khui ⁵
泉州	tshui ⁵	hə ²	hə ²	thui ³	tui ⁵	khuai ⁵
廈門	tshui ⁵	he ²	he ¹	thui ³	tui ⁵	khuai ⁵

在哈韻，福州、廈門都有文讀音 ai，是通語影響的主流層次；在白讀音，福州的 øy/øy，建甌的 o、ue，永安的 a，泉州的 ə，廈門的 e 是方言特有的次要層次；開、改和來的 ui、i、e 的音則是更為少見的出現在個別語音條件下的外層音讀。在灰韻，福州、永安，泉州、廈門的 ui、ue 和建甌的 o 都是主流的內層，福州的 øy、泉州的 ə、廈門的 a，則是白讀的中層，而“塊”的讀音因為方言另有用字和讀音（福州 tøy⁵、建甌 thie⁶、泉州 tə⁵、廈門 te⁵），這裏的音顯然是通語讀音的借用，是外層的特殊讀音。這些不同的內外層讀音都可以從字數的多少和方音的演變過程和條件制約得到解釋。限於篇幅，這裏不再作具體分析了。

在閩語，文白異讀的分配更是區別不同語音歷史層次的主要方式。例如閩南話把一些次濁聲母字讀為 h 聲母，這可能是上古音 m̥ n̥ ŋ̊ 的殘留或百越語的底層，這種讀音都只見於白讀並大多與文讀音對立，各自分佈在不同的詞裏。例如（泉州話）：

	迎	燃	額	肉	耳	諾	默	棉
文	giŋ ² ~接	lian ² ~燒	giaŋ ⁸ ~數	liok ⁸ ~體	nĩ ³ 木~	liok ⁸ ~言	bik ⁸ ~~無聞	bian ² 木~
白	hiā ² ~佛	hiā ² ~火	hiaŋ ⁸ 頭~	hiak ⁸ 牛~	hi ⁴ ~空	hiauŋ ⁸ 應答辭	hmŋ ⁸ ~~(無言狀)	hĩ ² ~綜(織具)

有時同樣兩個字，用文白兩種讀音構成了書面通語詞和方言口語詞，表達的是不同的意思。例如（泉州話，不標變調）：

行動	hiŋ ² təŋ ⁴ / kiā ² taŋ ⁴ （走動）	數目	sə ⁵ bək ⁸ / siau ⁵ bak ⁸ （帳目）
誠實	siŋ ² sit ⁸ / tsiā ² tsat ⁸ （很緊密）	世界	se ⁵ kai ⁵ / si ⁵ kue ⁵ （到處）
糊塗	hə ² tə ² / khə ² thə ² （沾上泥）	空間	khəŋ ¹ kan ¹ / khaŋ ¹ kuĩ ¹ （空房）
前方	tsian ² həŋ ¹ / tsui ² paŋ ¹ （上回）	大寒	tai ⁶ han ² / tua ⁶ kuā ² （嚴寒）

有時，不同歷史層次的讀音還可用來區別其他不同含義的方言詞。例如閩南話的匣母字（仍以泉州話為例）：

糊：	ko ² 米~，粘上（主動）；	khə ² 沾上（被動）；	hə ² ~塗
下：	ke ⁴ 低；	khe ⁴ 放置；	he ⁴ ~決心；
	e ⁴ ~底；	ha ⁴ ~消：下賤	
解胡買切，曉也：	ue ⁴ 會做人；	e ⁴ 可以，會；	hai ⁴ ~數
含：	am ² ~口列算（合起來算）；	kam ² ~糖仔粒；	ham ² 含伊煞來（連他也來）

閩北的來母 s- 聲字也一樣分配在文白不同的詞裡，以建甌話為例：

螺 lo ⁵ ~絲 / so ⁵ 田~	露 lu ⁶ ~骨 / su ⁶ ~水	雷 lo ⁵ ~電 / so ⁵ 起~	郎 loŋ ⁵ 新~ / soŋ ⁵ 女婿
李 li ⁵ 姓 / se ⁶ ~子	老 lau ³ ~師 / se ⁶ ~了	籃 lan ⁵ ~球 / saŋ ⁵ ~子	卵 lueŋ ³ ~生 / soŋ ⁶ 生~

在不同的方言，即使是同一種大方言中的小方言之間，整合的方式可以不同，整合的力度也有差異。如所周知，閩中、閩北文白讀的對立就少，閩南則比閩東多，而在閩南方言，越往南對立越少。可見，研究方言語音的歷史層次不能只注意歷時的變化，也要注意共時的整合。

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On the Study of Strata in the Phonological History of Dialects

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Researchers studying strata in the phonological history of Chinese dialects should note the following: First, some historical strata emerged because of language contact. Second, beside the evolution of phonological categories themselves, it is also important to trace the actual sound change from one pronunciation to another. Third, primary (i.e. covering most characters in a category) and secondary strata should be differentiated, and the latter should not be blown out of proportion. Fourth, researchers should find out how the various strata in a dialect constitute a single synchronic system. The four points in discussion are all illustrated with examples from Min dialects.

Key words: language contact, historical stratum, primary and secondary strata, synchronic system

The Graph 日 for the Word “Time” in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions*

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1. Introduction

It is a standard interpretation among *jiaguwen* 甲骨文 specialists to interpret the graph 日 (日) as expressing the words “sun” and “day.” For example, the determiner phrases 出日 ‘rising sun’ and 入日 ‘setting sun’ contain 日 used in the former sense, whereas 今日 ‘present day’ and 之日 ‘that day’ have the same 日 used in the latter sense. It goes without saying that many languages in the world have this sort of polysemy. Japanese word *hi* 日, for instance, means “fire”, as well as “sun” and “day.”¹ This paper proposes that in *jiaguwen* the graph 日 (日) also stands for the word *shi* 時 ‘time’ in certain specific contexts. This is in addition to “sun” and “day” mentioned above. Thus the trisemic Japanese *hi* is matched with the trisemic Chinese *ri*, though they depart in the sense of “fire” in Japanese and “time” in Shang Chinese.

The pronunciation of “sun” and that of “day” must have been identical in earlier historical periods as it is in modern times. The Old Chinese (abbreviated hereinafter as OC) as reconstructed by Li Fang-kuei (1971) and by William Baxter (1992) show the

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¹ The common etymon linking the three words could well be “heat,” although Horii (1988:208) thinks that it is related to what he calls abstract-concept word *hiru* ‘daytime’ in which the syllable *hi*, according to Horii, indicates the passage of time. This is possible and might eventually be shown to have a similar etymological parallel with the Chinese word *shi*/**djæg(x)*, though it should be mentioned that classical Japanese word meaning “to pass (through time)” is *fu* going back to **pu*, and *hi* going back to **pi* (category “B”). Horii also raises the possibility that it is related to Korean *hæ* (<**hi*) ‘sun’. Unfortunately, more reliable etymologies such as Yoshida (1976) does not deal with this etymology.

same form: **njit* (脂部入聲; 中古泥母). The word 時, however, belongs to a different rhyme group, 韻母, being 之部陰聲; moreover, the initial, 聲母, is different as it is 中古禪母. Li's OC reconstruction is **djæg(x)* and Baxter's **dʒiʔ*. It thus appears that we have here a good example of the same graph having the polyphonic function. The graph 日, in short, is not only polysemic/homonymous but also polyphonic. Of etymological interest here is that the proto-Japanese is presumed to have felt the heat of fire, sun, and day as a common meaning in all three words (cf. fn. 1), but they refer to at least two things and are thus polysemic. In contrast, the proto-Chinese saw some common etymon (yet to be specified), bridging “sun” and “day” but not, as one might at first sight be led to think, “time.” However, on a deeper level this may not be right. It is because both “sun” and “day” can conceivably be thought of as objects that “move” on the axis of time. This is a semantic observation but, the motion of going or moving, 之 *zhi*/**tjæg* (Li's) or **tʃi* (Baxter's), hence my use of “move” in the previous sentence. The pictograph of “sun” or “day” must have been sufficient to trigger the association with the word “time” and that is perhaps aided by the salient feature of “sun” and “day,” namely, that they “go” or “move,” rather than the assumed “heat” etymon in Japanese.

2. Graph 𠄎 in the Zhongshan Wang Cuo *fanghu* 中山王 𠄎方壺 inscription and its related issues

Paleographical reference works such as Gao Ming (1980:494), He Linyi (1998:47), and Xu Zhongshu (1980: 257) give the graph 𠄎 found in the Zhongshan wang *fanghu* 中山王方壺 inscription, one of the three main Zhongshan King Cuo 中山王 𠄎 bronze inscriptions (ca. 310 BC), as the earliest form of the word 時. Let us first examine the graph used in a fuller context:



The above quoted portion is a linearized original inscription with direct transcriptions underneath each character. The following is an interpretative transcription in modern Chinese characters, followed by my translation:

- (1) 嗚呼，允哉，若言。明策之于壺，而時觀焉。

Ah, how indeed true these sayings are!² [I have (thus)] clearly inscribed all these upon this *hu* vase, so that [you can] observe them on appropriate occasions.³

It would appear that the top element of this bronze graph, modern 之, is used as the phonetic determinative, indicating that the graph 日 is to be read like **djæg(x)* or **djĭ(ʔ)*, rather than **njit*. The *Shuowen* (7a, p. 137) entry for 時 reads: 時四時也, 从日寺聲 ‘*shi* means four seasons; it consists of 日 and 寺 as phonetic.’ But, as mentioned in fn. 3, the entry continues as follows: 𠄎, 古文時, 从之日. The first part of this quotation has no ambiguity in its meaning (𠄎 is the *guwen* form of 時), but in the formula “从 XY” the Y element is different from the often found formula 从 X Y 聲 or 从 X 从 Y (the *huiyi* 會意 formula), raising some uncertainties as to what

² The syntactic inversion is observed in 允哉若言 ‘how indeed true these sayings are!’, obviously for emphatic purposes. *Yun* 允 is inscribed 𠄎 with the female radical here at the bottom, rather than human element in the modern, although its significance is unclear. *Zai* 哉 is inscribed with a “double” phonetic seemingly serving an adornment function: 𠄎. That is, the element 在 would have been sufficient, but they added 茲 on top of it. The word *ruo* 若 is clearly used in the sense of “such,” and the determiner phrase *ruo yan* refers to a preceding paragraph that begins with 夫古聖王務在得賢 and ends with 允哉. For the benefit of the reader I quote the paragraph with a translation: 夫古聖王務在得賢, 其即得民, 故辭禮敬, 則賢人至, 博愛深, 則賢人親, 作斂中, 則庶民附 ‘The effort invested by those ancient sage kings was directed to securing the wise (in the government), and only after that, to securing people (to work in concert with them). Thus, if your speech and ritual behavior are deferential, men of wisdom will come (to you), and if your care and affection (for the people) are deep, the wise will be very supportive, and if corvée and taxes are moderate, the common people will not leave you’.

³ It is possible that this refers to the occasion of ancestral sacrifices. The word *shi* 時 ‘time’, inscribed here as 𠄎, the quasi-direct transcription being 𠄎 — actually the top element should be 之, not 止, but since I have no such a font, let this graph stand temporarily for the correct one. The *guwen* 古文 form is 𠄎 listed in the *SW* (7a, p. 137), and the word it represented is *shi* 時 which commonly means “four seasons” in the classics but also “opportune time” or “time appropriate for some particular occasion or to do something.” In the mind of the Zhongshan king it must here refer to the time when this sacrificial *hu* vase be used, as he wished, for conducting ancestral sacrifices. Here in this sentence 時 is used as adverb. It should be added that in terms of historical palaeography the *SW guwen* form 𠄎 is not accurate because the top element 𠄎 (= *you* 有) is in my view (Takashima 2005:18) a stylized form of *niu* 牛 / 𠄎 (**ngwiæg* / **ngwĭjĭ*), and the top element of 𠄎 is *zhi* 之, not *you* 𠄎.

functional role can be assigned to Y in “从 XY.” Thus Wang Yun 王筠 (說文解字句讀, ap. 說文解字詁林 ab. *SWGL*, 7.2891) writes “从之聲也” (it consists of 之 used as phonetic). There are specialists who follow this interpretation (e.g., Katō Jōken 1970: 481, Tang Kejing 1997:902). This is a more “rationalized” interpretation than the impressionistic one that I have given in the beginning of this paragraph (viz., the 之 element is used as the phonetic determinative). While not substantiating that the formula “从 XY” may originally have been written unambiguously in the *SW* as 从 X Y 聲, Miller (1953:207-9) suggested that the 聲 was purposely edited out when the Song scholars — notably Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916-991) and his brother Xu Kai 徐鉉 (920-974), perhaps influenced by their predecessors or contemporaries — thought that the Y element could not have been phonetic. Boltz (1994:119, 154) has adduced a couple of examples to show that this may in fact have been the case. I have adopted this interpretation of the formula “从 XY” in this paper.⁴ If this is correct, Xu Shen knew that 日 had a pronunciation of what eventually resulted in modern *shi*.⁵

3. Graph 𠂔 in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions and related issues

The use of 𠂔 as standing for the word 時 is a new claim, and we would like to support it here. Given below are some examples followed by my analysis:

- (2) a. 辛亥卜，翌日壬，旦至食日(= 時)不[雨]。大吉。 *Tunnan* 624
Xinhai [day 48] divined: (On) the following day, *ren* [renzi day 49],
 (from) the sunrise to the meal time, it will not [rain]. Greatly
 auspicious.
- b. 壬，旦至食日(= 時)其雨。吉。 *Ibid.*

⁴ Apparently this is not always the case according Françoise Bottéro (private communication at the SCASSS, Uppsala, December, 2004). We look forward to her findings.

⁵ Although the rhymes of the word 時 and 實 are different (the former being 之部, and the latter 脂部入聲), they are related in an interesting way: Pulleyblank (1995: 89) has noted that the pronoun 時 is related to 是, 寔, and 實, occurring only in the pre-classical Chinese. His observation that 時 is a relatively unemphatic form as opposed to 是 and 實 is generally correct in the light of the Zhongshan bronze inscriptions (Takashima 1996). This implies the existence of a morphological system of the demonstratives, but what is of interest here is that the *Shuowen* (7a) has the following entry: 日實也, 太陽之精 ... ‘*Ri* means *shi* (solid); it is the essence of the great *yang*’ Moreover, it is possible that the graphs 是 and 寔 have the element 日 which may have served as the phonetic in these graphs. This may constitute yet another piece of evidence for the possibility that the graphic unit 日 itself was pronounced as *shi*/**djæg(x)*. In analogy with the paronomastic definition Xu Shen frequently uses, we may pun in such a way as *日時也.

- (On) the *ren* day [49], (from) the sunrise to the meal time, it may happen to rain. Auspicious.
- c. 食日(= 時) 至中日(= 時)不雨。吉。 *Ibid.*
(From) the meal time to noon, it will not rain. Auspicious.
- d. 食日(= 時) 至中日(= 時)其雨。 *Ibid.*
(From) the meal time to noon, it may happen to rain.
- e. 中日(= 時) 至臯兮不雨。吉。 *Ibid.*
(From) noon to the late afternoon, it will not rain. Auspicious.
- f. 中日(= 時) 至[臯]兮[其雨]。 *Ibid.*
(From) noon to the late afternoon, it may happen to rain.

From the set of inscriptions given above, we can tell that the diviner traversed a day from the daybreak to the late afternoon (or about the time the sun sets). The topic is rain, and the diviner put the charges in a typical *duizhen* 對貞 ‘a pair of testing statements’ consisting in this case of the negative and the positive.⁶ The phrase 食日 stands out, along with 中日 and 臯兮.⁷ Chen Mengjia (1956:232) suggested that “大食” and “小食” referred to the times of breakfast (朝食) and supper (夕食), respectively. They can also be abbreviated as “食日” and further simply as “食”. Chen Mengjia’s deduction is based on several, though not exhaustive, examples (p. 231), and specialists generally have accepted his interpretation. However, he does not suggest that 日 stands for the

⁶ The negative is with the non-active, stative and non-modal, negative *bu* 不 ‘it is/will/was not V’ (Takashima 1988; Itō and Takashima 1996:364-382), while the positive is modulated by the modal and aspectual particle *qi* 其 which I now render as “may happen to” (Takashima 2003; further rumination of Takashima 1994). Judging from the context, particularly the post-factum record (*yanzi* 驗辭) which has *daji* 大吉 ‘greatly auspicious’ or *ji* 吉 ‘auspicious’, the negative charges constitute the preferred alternative of the Shang (Serruys 1974:25-7).

⁷ We shall shortly discuss the phrase 中日 in the body of the paper. As for the phrase 臯兮, it is a self-contained, binomial expression albeit somewhat unusual (could even be a borrowed word from some dialect or even foreign language). Although we remain ignorant of what words these two graphs really represent, we do know that this binomial expression refers to time, approximately twilight, judged on the basis of such examples as 2(e) and 2(f) cited above, combined with an inscription found in *Cuibian* 715 (*Heji* 28794): 臯兮至昏不雨 ‘(from) late afternoon (or about the time of the sun set) to twilight it will not rain’. Xu Zhongshu (1988: 507) [following Guo Moruo 1937:715/98a] says that *xi* 兮 is 曦 ‘the color of the sun/sun ray’. While this is powerfully suggestive, their claim is difficult to accept on phonological grounds; namely, 兮 and 曦 belong to different rhyme groups in OC (the former in the 佳部, the latter 歌部) and, moreover, the initials are different in MC (the former 匣母, the latter 曉母). Therefore, I reject this interpretation, and the time phrase which 臯兮 had nothing to do with the color of the sun or sun ray. It refers to a certain duration of time before *hun* 昏 ‘twilight’, and that is the extent to which we can be certain.

word 時 ‘time’, treating the phrase 食日 as a unit. This is analytically fuzzy, and the same comment can be applied to Chang Yuzhi (1998:13) and Li Xueqin (1997/1999: 20). Both of them have treated 食日 no differently from Chen Mengjia.⁸ We should like to be more rigorous in our analysis, claiming, in fact, that in Shang Chinese 食日 and 大食日 stand for the 食時 ‘meal time’ and 大食時 ‘(time of big eating:) time of breakfast’, respectively. And if Chen Mengjia’s judgment that the extreme abbreviation of the full determinative phrase 大食日 as 食 alone expresses the meaning “time of breakfast” is correct, what we have here is a minimal contrast of 食 and 小食 ‘(time of) small eating (= supper)’. That is, 食 by itself is a “default” expression for breakfast.

Before we give more examples to buttress this interpretation (section 5), let us further consider the problem of understanding the phrase 中日. Specialists generally take this phrase as meaning “mid *day*,” and this might not be an impossible interpretation. But I doubt if the modern rendition *zhong ri* is correct, though the general meaning — that it refers to about noon time — must be correct. This is because from examples (2c) to (2f), we see the progression of time from 食時 ‘meal time’ to 晡兮 ‘late afternoon’ and 中日 occurs in the middle. We could thus maintain the alternative interpretation of the graph 日 as standing for the word 時 in the phrase 中日. The graph 日 is not only polysemic/homonymous but also polyphonic as pointed out earlier (section 1) and, therefore, depending on context, the same graph can stand for words such as “sun”, “day” (both *ri*), as well as “time” (*shi*). And the expression 中日 can be construed as referring to the position of the sun in the middle of its traverse in the sky, as well as to any mid day in the interval of two given dates. But the crucial question is: how were they expressed in Shang Chinese? The tradition points to the greater possibility that the use of 日 in the expression 中日 also referred to time, rather than the sun or day (cf. also section 4). That is, on the surface “中日” in the Shang language must have been 中時 ‘time in the meridian’ in the case of examples from (2c) to (2f). This is parallel to our interpretation that 食日 and 大食日 stand for 食時 ‘(time of eating:) meal time’ and 大食時 ‘(time of big eating:) breakfast time’. However, if the context in which “中日” occurs is in the interval of two given dates, then “中日” must have been pronounced in OC form of modern *zhong ri*, rather than *zhong shi*, although I have not yet found any such context in OBI.

First, we must take issue with Chang Yuzhi (1998:137) who makes no distinction

⁸ Li speculates that the expression 大食日 forms a phrase (猜想“大食日”乃是一詞, “大食”或稱“大食日”, 又省爲“食日”), which is non-committal at best, or plain wrong at worst, specifically judging, in his judgment that these phrases are unanalyzable. I think that “大食日” and “食日” can and must be analyzed; they are determinative phrases literally meaning “big-eating time” (i.e., breakfast) and “eating time” (i.e., breakfast).

between 中日 and 日中. She claims that the following inscriptions in which these two expressions occur are identical in meaning:

- (3) a. 中日其雨。 Heji 29790
(Around) noon it may happen to rain.
b. 中日不雨。 Heji 28569
(Around) noon it will not rain.
c. 𠄎日中有大雨。 Heji 29789
It should be during the day that there will be much rain.
d. 暮于日中迺往，不雨。 Heji 29788
(If,) in the evening and (on to) during the day,⁹ (we) (go:)
leave thenceforth, it will not rain.

As indicated in the translations provided, (3a) and (3b) on the one hand and (3c) and (3d) on the other, are completely different in their reference to time. The word expressed by 日 in the former pair is 時 ‘time’, and in the latter pair it is 日 ‘day’. That they are different words has already been explained in section 1, and in terms of grammatical structure the relationship between 中日 and 日中 is very different: the former is an attributive, determiner noun phrase, and the latter consists of a “N + V” forming a noun phrase literally meaning “the-sun-being-in-the-middle,” translatable to “during the day.”¹⁰ For a piece of contemporary evidence, consider the fact that while there are a

⁹ The phrase 暮于日中 is here interpreted as “in the evening and during the day.” One might take it as meaning “the evening in/during the day.” I have excluded this possibility on the basis of the absence of the pattern “N_i + 于 + NP” in which N_i is incorporated or part of NP. Also, the particle 于 when used with a time word indicates “futurity.” For more on the conjunctive particle 于 used between two nouns, the reader is referred to Takashima (1984-85; 1996: 247-251), but translation I have provided is somewhat strange because the time sequence from 暮 ‘evening’ and 于日中 ‘(on to) during the day’ is consecutive only if 日中 be taken as the following day. While this is not entirely impossible, if considered together with example (3c) the diviner seems to have been concerned with the sortie activity on the same day, not on the following day. Of course, there may well have been a scribal error of putting the sequence incorrectly, and the correct sequence may have been *日中于暮 ‘during the day and on to the evening’. Another possibility is to interpret 暮于日中 as “in the evening *or* in the daytime,” but it is hard to show that this was in fact what the diviner meant. In short, I do not know what the correct understanding of this phrase is.

¹⁰ The structural analysis of “N + V” forming an NP might be challenged, if we change “V” to “N,” i.e., “N + N.” If we do that, the phrase 日中 would be taken as meaning “middle of the day.” As far as the meaning is concerned, this is acceptable for it differs little from “during the day” as we have provided. But if we had such an expression as *日上, the phrase here meaning “*top of the sun” is very strange. The verbal interpretation of 上 ‘to rise’ would have been far

few examples of the 中日 phrase collocated with the 至 + (于) + X (where X is a time word such as 昏 ‘dusk’, 晡 ‘late afternoon’, and 昃 ‘[the sun in decline:] afternoon’),¹¹ no such collocation is found with the 日中 phrase. The significance of this is that the 日中 phrase implies a stretch of time (daytime, while the sun is still in the sky), whereas the other terms such as 旦 ‘daybreak’, 夙 ‘early in the morning’, 朝 ‘morning’, 食日 or 大食日 (where 日 = 時) ‘(time of big eating:) breakfast time’, 晡 (= 晝) ‘noon’,¹² 中日 (= 時) ‘noon’, 昃 ‘afternoon’, 小食 ‘(small eating:) supper’, 晡 ‘late afternoon’, 昏 ‘dusk’, etc. refer to a time period shorter than the 日中 phrase. For yet another piece of evidence, consider the following set of inscriptions which show that 中日 is contrastively used with 昃:

- (4) a. 中日其雨。 *Heji* 29910
(Around) noon it may happen to rain.
b. 王其省田昃不雨。 *Ibid.*
If His Majesty should inspect the field, it will not rain in the afternoon.
c. 昃其雨。吉。 *Ibid.*
It may happen to rain in the afternoon. Auspicious.

There are other inscriptions on this bone, but they are hard to discern. It is clear, however, that 中日 in (4a) and 昃 in (4b)-(4c) are in contrast. If 昃 refers to a certain duration of time, then 中日 must also be the same. On the basis of the inscriptions from (3a) to (3d), as well as from (4a) to (4c), it can be concluded that 中日 and 日中 mean different things, the former should be 中時 pronounced as something like **trjəŋgw *dʒəg(x)*, which is Li’s reconstruction, or like **k-ljung *dʒi(ʔ)*, which is Baxter’s reconstruction, and the meaning is “(around) noon time”; the latter should be 日中 pronounced something like **njit *trjəŋgw* (Li’s OC) or **njit *k-ljung* (Baxter’s OC), and the meaning is “during the day.”

more cogent, and indeed “the sun rises” is what one would expect the phrase to have meant. On the other hand, *日下, if we had such a phrase, could be taken as embodying the “N + N” structure (cp. the Zhou expression of 天下 ‘[all] under Heaven’), though the “N + V” structure in the sense of “the sun goes down” is also theoretically possible. Example (5) below has the phrase 日中 which means “equinox” and in this *Shangshu*, Yaodian, passage it refers to spring equinox. This meaning is derived from the analysis that 中 is an V, rather than an N, so that the “middle of the day” meaning derived from the “N + N” analysis is unlikely to be correct.

¹¹ For example, *Tunnan* 42, 624; *Heji* 29793.

¹² Cf. Song Zhenhao (1985, 199) for this interpretation. However, Song’s interpretation is problematical and may very well be wrong. See Liu Xueshun (2005:51-3) for further discussion.

4. Brief excursion into a few transmitted texts

Paying attention to the use of 中日 and 日中 in a few transmitted pre-Han texts, we find many uses of the latter expression, but we hardly find examples of the former one. To quote three representative examples of 日中:

- (5) 日中星鳥，以殷仲春。 *Shangshu*, Yaodian.
The day being in the medium (length [i.e., equal at day and at night]), and the asterism being in the Bird (*chunhuo* 鶉火 [i.e., appearing in the south at dusk]), (he) thereby determined the mid-spring.
- (6) 日中爲市，致天下之民，聚天下之貨，交易而退，各得其所。 *Yijing*, Xici xia
(Shen Nong) had the markets open in the daytime, having had the people go there, gather goods of the countries, and after having them exchange the goods (he) had the people return home; each of them thus obtained what was (needed).
- (7) 其君之戎，分爲二廣，卒偏之兩。右廣初駕，數及日中，左則受之，以至于昏。 *Zuozhuan*, Xuangong 12.
“Its ruler’s soldiers was divided into two bodies of 15 each. To each of them were attached 100 men, and an additional complement of 25 men. The body on the right rode on chariots first, and kept on duty till mid-day, when that on the left took its place till dark.” Legge’s translation (1872: 318) modified.

The underlined portions in the translations above represent what corresponds to the meaning of each of the 日中 examples. While they mean different things in (5), (6), and (7), what is common to them all is the movement of the sun at or around the meridian, and in terms of constituency, 日中 consists of a N + V_{stative} structure (cf. fn. 10). In a striking contrast to such use of 日中, I have not found any example of 中日 in pre-Han transmitted texts.¹³ This militates against the interpretation of Chang Yuzhi (1998:137) who cite three examples of 日中 in such transmitted texts as *Yijing*, Xici

¹³ It is interesting to find the use of 日中 in Sino-Japanese texts; for example, in the *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才圖繪, an 18th century encyclopedia by Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 (middle of the Edo period), in which 日中 is defined as referring to the vernal and autumnal equinox. It is possible that Terajima knew of the same expression in the *Shangshu*, but to him the N + V structure is nothing strange as the Japanese syntax would have easily permitted such a structural interpretation as *hi wa chū ni shite...* 日は中にして ‘the day being in the meridian ...’, and for that matter there is nothing strange about Chinese syntax in which N is followed by a stative V. This verbal interpretation of 中 is what I have adopted in fn.10.

xia (same as our example (6)), *Guoyu*, *Luyu*, and *Liji*, Tangong, claiming that there was no distinction between 日中 and 中日 when, in fact, no example of the latter is given. This claim is hard to accept.

It should be mentioned in passing that the expression 中時 is indeed used in the sense of “noon,” although the locus classicus does not go as far back as the pre-Han period. An example given in Morohashi Tetsuji’s 諸橋轍次 *Dai Kanwa jiten* 大漢和辭典 (1.300) is quoted below for reference:

- (8) 若其有長短，分在中時前後。 *Chenshu* 陳書 (by 姚思廉 of Tang),
Shen Zhu zhuan 沈洙傳
If there is the stretch of time, it is divided in pre- and post-meridian.

Although a thorough diachronic investigation of the expression 中時 is not attempted, the above example, coupled with some good examples of 日中 in (5) through (7), points to the fact that 中日 is a phantom expression, even though its literal rendition “mid day” seems to make sense. It has to be construed as 中時 literally meaning “meridian time” and, more commonly, “noon.” One might retort against this interpretation by asking why it matters at all. It matters because (1) we have “excavated” a new vocabulary item in Shang Chinese, (2) there is an appreciable difference in meaning between 日中 and 中時, and (3) the distinction can help explain more examples. The last point is important, and we will now turn our attention to it in the following section.

5. More examples of the graph 日 standing for the word 時 ‘time’

Given below are a few more examples in which the graph 日 is best taken to have expressed the word 時 ‘time’:

- (9) a. 癸丑卜，貞旬 [甲寅大] 食雨 [自北]。乙卯小食大啓。丙辰中日大雨自南。
Heji 21021
Divining on the *guichou* day [50], tested: In the (following) 10-day week [there will be no mishaps]. [On the *jiayin* day (51) at the time of big] eating (i.e., breakfast) it rained, [the rain having come from the north]. On the *yimao* day [52] [at the time of] small eating (i.e., supper) it all became clear. (Around) the mid-day (i.e., noon) on the *bingchen* day [53] it rained much, the rain having come from the south.
- b. 大采日各雲自北。 *Ibid.*

... at the time of greater illumination (i.e., sometime in the morning)¹⁴
there arose the approaching clouds, having originated from the north.

In (9a), the expressions 大食 and 小食 should be considered as abbreviations of 大食日 and 小食日, respectively. These interpretations have already been suggested by Chen Mengjia (1956:232), but here I propose to read them as 大食時 ‘breakfast time’ and 小食時 ‘supper time’. Similarly, in (9b), the expression 大采日 should be read as 大采時 ‘time of greater illumination’. As noted by Chen Mengjia and others, this is in contrast to the expression 小采日, our 小采時 ‘time of lesser illumination’ referring to sometime after the 小食時 ‘supper time’, as in the following example:

- (10) 癸亥卜，貞旬。乙丑夕雨。丁卯明雨。戊小采日雨止，風。己明
啓。 Heji 21016

Divining on the *guihai* day [60], tested: In the (following) 10-day week
[there will be no mishaps]. [On the *yichou* day (2), in the evening, it rained.
On the *dingmao* day [4], in the early morning it rained; at the time of lesser
illumination on the *wu[chen]* day [5] the rain stopped, but it became windy.
On the *ji[si]* day [6] it cleared up in early morning.

This new interpretation of the graph 日 standing for the word 時 ‘time’ enables us to interpret the surface expression 大采日 as meaning 大采時 ‘time of greater illumination’ and the expression 小采日 as meaning 小采時 ‘time of lesser illumination’ which refers to sometime after the 小食時 ‘supper time’. These are considered as some additional examples of the 日 standing for the word 時.

Let us now examine a completely different interpretation from ours, the interpretation proposed by Li Xueqin (1999:65). Li first calls attention to the fact that Chen Mengjia (1956:231) has provided a dot under each character of the surface expressions 大采日 and 小采日, thereby indicating Chen’s view that these are to be treated as single expressions (一個詞). Li takes issue with this, asserting that 日 means “sun” in these expressions. He then provides example (10) above, arguing that 日 is an independent word and cannot be treated as a unit with 小采 (“日”顯然是獨立的詞，不能與“小采”連讀) because we have the expression “雨止” (rain stopped), and if the rain stopped, then the word 日 must have meant the “sun (came out).” This is incorrect; it is a step backward from Chen Mengjia’s intuitive understanding. The contextual meaning of example (10) seems to work nicely for Li’s interpretation, but it is only accidental. That is, the phrase 小采日 on the surface is really 小采時 and it

¹⁴ Since (9a) and (9b) are on the same piece of plastron (同版) on which both 大食 and 大采日 are used, they must refer to different periods of time in the morning.

has nothing to do with the sun being visible or invisible because it refers to the time of a day meaning “time of lesser illumination.” There are a few telling examples to show that this judgment is correct. Given below are just a couple of examples:

- (11) 乙卯卜，般貞今日王往于敦。之日 大采雨。王不往(?)。 *Heji* 6710
 Divining on the *yimao* day [52], Que tested: Today His Majesty should go to Dun. On that day,¹⁵ at the (time of) greater illumination, it rained. His Majesty did not go.
- (12) 壬戌又雨。今日小采允大雨。 *Heji* 20397
 On the *renxu* day [59], there was rain. Today, at the (time of) lesser illumination, it indeed rain much.

Thus, examples (11) and (12) show that the particular example provided by Li Xueqin (example (10)) is merely fortuitously supportive of his interpretation. Specialists will have no objection in taking the surface expressions 大采 and 小采 as abbreviations of 大采日 and 小采日. This is the same type of abbreviation as we have seen in example (9a) above; that is, 大食日 and 小食日 are equal to 大食 and 小食. It follows then that if 大食日 and 小食日 are 大食時 ‘breakfast time’ and 小食時 ‘supper time’, 大采日 and 小采日 should also be 大采時 ‘time of greater illumination’ and 小采時 ‘time of lesser illumination’, respectively. Therefore, these expressions have nothing to do with the sun being visible or invisible.

5. Conclusion

The graph 𠄎 (日) which appears in the following expressions stands for the word *shi* 時 in the Shang inscriptions:

- 食日(= 時) ‘meal time’
 大食日(= 時) ‘breakfast time’
 小食日(= 時) ‘supper time’
 中日(= 時) ‘time in the meridian, noon’
 大采日(= 時) ‘time of greater illumination’
 小采日(= 時) ‘time of lesser illumination’

¹⁵ Some specialists take 𠄎 as a single graph, but they are mistaken. 之日 is a common phrase meaning “that day”.

Postscript (待考):

We have provided here a few more examples, although tentative, in which the graph 日 may eventually be proved to express the word 時:

- (13) 今日丁，崇 (祉) 日 (時) 王其過亡 𠄎。 Heji 28754
Today, on the *ding* day, at the time of *zhi*-sacrifice, His Majesty should go through (or pass by) [X]; there shall be no disaster.
- (14) 屯 (蓍) 日 (時) 不雨。 Heji 24669
At spring time it will not rain.
- (15) ... 覓 (冥) 日 (時) ... 不 ... 告。 Heji 18076
... at the (time when clouds) cover ... not ... announcement.
- (16) ... 其 ... 昃日 (時) ... Heji 11728r
... at the time when the sun inclines (= in the afternoon) ...
- (17) ... 燕 (宴) 日 (時) ... Kikkō 1.10.4
... at the time of banquet ...

The examples cited above lack a fuller context to effectively test the theory that the graph 日 is used for the word 時. Of the above the most promising example would be (13). Here we know that the date is *ding* (今日丁 ‘today, the *ding* day’) and what follows this must be specifying a temporal division of that day. This is accomplished by the phrase “崇 (祉) 日 (= 時)” designating a time period in exactly the same way as we have already seen (cf. Conclusion). There is not much scholarship available on the word 崇 (祉). The traditional dictionary definition for *zhi* 祉 is “blessing from gods”. Xu Zhongshu (1988:14) says that it is the name of a sacrifice (祭名), but how the sacrificial meaning would work in (13) is not very clear. The very example he provides for this meaning, given below, would support his claim if we understand it in the following way:

- (18) 貞于乙日崇 (祉) 由 (思) 王受又。 Heji 27202 (= *Jiabian* 1343)
Tested: (If) on the *yi* day, conduct *zhi*-sacrifice, would that His Majesty receive aid.

The interpretation of example (18) is problematic, and I have no confidence in the translation. If we take 乙日 ‘*yi* day’ as forming a temporal phrase with the particle 于 as we tentatively did in example (18), then 崇 must be a verb. But it is not entirely impossible to construe 于乙 as forming a temporal phrase as the use of 乙 alone designates a day. If so, we get 日崇 on the surface which, in turn, suggests that 日

might be construed as 時 ‘time’. Then, the word order, 日(= 時)崇(社) becomes interesting because it is the opposite of what appears in (13): 崇(社)日(時). This could suggest a fundamental difference in linguistic structure, further giving rise to the possibility of dialect mixture or influence from a different language.¹⁶ While this possibility remains just that, a translation that would result from this analysis (i.e., “[If] on the *yi* day [we] *timely* conduct *zhi*-sacrifice, would that His Majesty receive aid”) becomes even more interesting. However, we need a lot more examples to investigate which possibility (if any one of the two here considered) is the right one. As for the fragmentary inscription of example (14), we cannot say much. However, the graph 𠂔 (屯) can be used to stand for the word *chun* 蓐 (春) ‘spring’ as in the following inscription:

- (19) 壬子[卜] ... 貞今屯受年。九月。 Heji 9652
 Divining on the *renzi* day (49) ... tested: In the present [immediately coming?] spring, (we) will harvest a (good) crop. Ninth month.

Since the epithet 今 ‘present’ normally modifies a noun that denotes contemporaneity, this example is strange because the spring is at least a few months ahead of time as the divination was made in the ninth month. But if the graph 屯 does not stand for the word 蓐 (春) ‘spring’, it leaves us in the complete dark as to what it might have meant.

Concerning the expression 覓 (冥) 日 (時) ‘at the (time when clouds) cover’ in 15, the context (*Sōrui* 107.2) is too meager to make any judgment. We merely record this for future reference. As for the surface appearance of 𠂔日, almost all the occurrences—some two dozen of them—have just the graph, which can transcribed as 𠂔 (modern 𠂔); however, here the graph 𠂔 occurs after it. This would suggest that as a word *ze* 𠂔, cognate to 仄, meaning “to incline,” and as a noun it referred to the sun in its inclination toward disappearance on the horizon. Again, there are no other examples to build our case. Finally, on the surface, in the expression 燕日, it is standard practice to interpret the graph 燕 as standing for 宴 ‘banquet; to have a banquet’. It is possible to construe 燕日 as meaning “the day of banquet” just as equally as 燕時 “the time of banquet.” We need a larger 𠂔, context, however, to tell which may have been the case.

Abbreviations

Sōran Kōkotsu moji jishaku sōran [甲骨文字字釋綜覽]. Compiled by Matsumaru

¹⁶ For a good possibility that in the Shang OBI there is evidence for dialect mixture, the reader is referred to Takashima and Yue (2000).

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- SWGL Shuowen jiezi gulin* [說文解字詁林]. Compiled by Ding Fubao (丁福保). Reprinted in Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1967.

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論甲骨文之「日」字

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甲骨文之「日 (日)」字可以讀作 *ri/*njit*，意指「太陽」或「一晝夜」。本文提出一個新的理論，認為此字除了這一讀法之外，在特定的語境中還可以讀作 *shi/*djəgx* (時)，意思是「時間」或者「時候」。

關鍵詞：日 (sun)，天 (day)，時 (time)

Syllabic Nasals in Chinese Dialects

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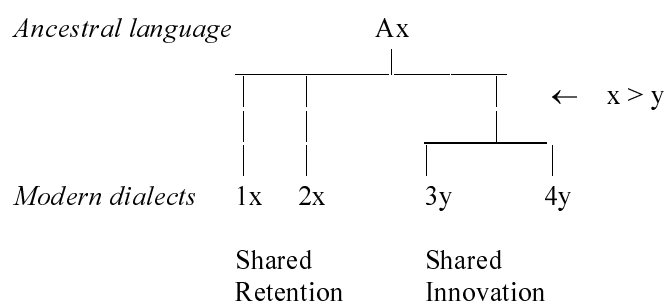
1. Introduction

In historical linguistics, there is a famous slogan, “Every word has its own history.” (Gilliéron 1915, Schuchardt 1917, quoted from Lehmann 1992) It should be also true that every isogloss has its history. Isoglosses (boundaries of linguistic features) are often used in dialect classification (Hock 1986, Anttila 1989, Lehmann 1992). If the classification is synchronic, all isoglosses are equally important. But if we are interested in the diachronic aspect of the dialects, some are clearly more informative than others. Unique relics, such as structurally rare but wide spread sound changes, are particularly fundamental for assessing the historical relationship of dialects.

As a clear contrast to northern Mandarin dialects, in many southern Chinese dialects a single nasal consonant can form a syllable by itself. Examples include 畝 ‘acre’ [m³¹] in the Suzhou dialect, 你 ‘you’ [n²¹³] in the Nanchang dialect, and 五 ‘five’ [ŋ²³] in the Guangzhou dialect (*Hanyu Fangyin Zihui* 1989, hereafter HFZ). In terms of syllable structure, syllabic nasals are unusual and violate the basic constraints for a well-formed Chinese syllable, which requires an obligatory nucleus vowel. But interestingly, such peculiar syllables are in wide existence in the colloquial layer of central and southern dialects. If we can show that the syllabic nasals in different areas are the results of the same historical change, their isoglosses should provide us with valuable information about the relationships and boundaries of Chinese dialects in history. In this paper we conduct a cross-dialect examination of the syllabic nasals. Through the analyses, we hope to show that the historical sources and geographical distributions can shed some light on our understanding of dialectal relationships in history.

Linguistic similarities are due to various reasons, including chance, common inheritance, borrowing, and language universals (Comrie 1981:194). However, a distinction must be made for similarities due to common inheritance. Inheritance similarity can be the result of both **shared retention** and **shared innovation** (Hoenigswald 1990, Fox 1995). Shared retention and shared innovation do not provide

the same information about the historical development of the dialects in question. Because shared retention consists of the unchanged linguistic features inherited from the common ancestral language, it cannot provide information about the common development of the dialects. On the other hand, shared innovation can.



In this illustration, ‘A’ represents an ancestral language and ‘1, 2, 3, and 4’ represent its descendants, modern dialects. Letter ‘x’ represents an ancestral feature and letter ‘y’ a derived feature. The diagram above indicates that dialects 1 and 2 show a shared retention, $x > x$, but dialect 3 and 4 show a shared innovation, $x > y$.

It is also possible that two dialects displaying the same change could be the result of either shared development or parallel innovations (due to chance). Separate dialects may innovate in the same way and in the same direction. Thus, the chosen linguistic features should not be the result of universal or typological factors. For this study the syllabic nasals are selected, because they are structurally so atypical that their wide distribution is unlikely to be the result of accidental parallel developments in individual dialects.

In the past two decades, dialect reports have mushroomed. Because it is almost impossible to check every available report, the data on which we based our analysis are incomplete. However, efforts have been made to include the reports on the dialects representing major dialect groups. In this article, for reasons of convenience, the syllabic marks of IPA and tonal values are omitted. Interjections are not included because their historical sources are not traceable.

2. Historical sources

Traditionally, syllabic nasals are considered as finals and usually included in the list of finals in dialect reports. But it is quite obvious that syllabic nasals do not fit the structure of regular finals. A syllabic nasal is not the medial, the nucleus vowel, or the ending of a syllable. Syllabic nasals are considered as finals because of the practice of traditional Chinese dialectology, which usually presents a phonological system by three

lists: a list of initials, a list of finals, and a list of tones. Syllabic nasals are like finals because they can form finals or syllables as tone-bearing units. But strictly speaking, the syllabic nasals as independent syllables have no place in these three lists. It is also not clear whether the syllabic nasals should be described as initials without a final, or finals without an initial.

Historically, no syllabic nasal existed in the phonology of the Middle Chinese (hereafter MC) rhyming standard, the 切韻 *Qieyun* of 601, or any earlier reconstructed phonological system. Thus, syllabic nasals should be considered a linguistic innovation that developed in non-standard dialects.

The historical changes involved are the reduction of the syllables with a nucleus vowel to a single nasal consonant. In the syllable structure of Chinese, nasal consonants can be at either the initial or final position of the syllables. Thus, the syllabic nasals in various dialects can be analyzed accordingly into two different types of changes. One type is developed from the initials, the other type from the endings.

Our data show that the condition for a full syllable to change to a syllabic nasal is that the nucleus vowel must be a high vowel. Furthermore, the vowel qualities have to agree with the places of articulation of the nasals: [u] for bilabial nasals, [i] for dental or palatal nasals, and [ɯ] for velar nasals. Only when the frontness and the roundedness become close to the places of articulation of the nasals does the drop of the nucleus become possible. The change from an NV (N = a nasal consonant with unspecified place of articulation) syllable to a syllabic nasal N should cause a minimum change in perception. Thus, the final stage of the change should look like:

mu > m ni > n ŋu > ŋ

The change Nə > N is also likely to be another source for syllabic nasals. This general condition also applies to the syllabic nasals derived from the nasal endings.

After a full syllable with a nucleus vowel reduces to a syllabic nasal, a change in the place of articulation is commonly observed. The change can be a simple shift from one place of articulation to another or a merger into syllabic nasals with different places of articulation. The same word found in different dialects can be realized in a syllabic nasal with different places of articulation.

2.1. Syllabic m from MC *m-

A common word is the negative 無 (other characters are also used in the dialect reports). Historically 無 is a division III syllable belonging to the 虞 *Yu* rhyme with the 微 *Wei* initial. The Wei initial is a bilabial nasal in the early MC system. Thus the bilabial syllabic nasal preserves the bilabial place of articulation. The change of 無 is

likely $mu > m$.

Another common word is 畝 mu ‘a unit of area’. Historically it is from the 流 Liu rhyme group. Based on the words with the same MC phonological position, the change of 畝 should be $məu > mu > m$. In both cases, the final step of change is the same, $mu > m$. Again, as we have pointed out above, the place of articulation for the nasal consonant and the vowel are the same. The word 畝 is not included in Cao’s data (Cao 2002); below we use other words with labial initials to show the change of $mu > m$. 富 and 浮 are from the Liu rhyme group, to which group 畝 belongs.

Southern Wu	1	2	3	4	5
富	fu	fu	fuə	fuy	fɿ
浮	vu	vu	vuə	vuy	vɿ

1 Jinhua, 2 Longyou, 3 Changshan, 4 Suichang, 5 Qingyuan

According to the data, no syllabic m is directly derived from MC labial endings. Some labial syllabic nasals show an origin in the MC velar nasal initial. For example, 五 $*ŋV$ ‘five’ in the Baisha variety of the Yuebei Tuhua ‘local speech of northern Guangdong’ is a syllabic m . But this should be the result of a change of articulation after it changed to a syllabic, $ŋV > ŋ > m$.

There are not many syllabic nasals that developed from the MC bilabial initial $*m-$. As a homophone of 畝, word 母 ‘mother’ is a labial syllabic nasal in some kinship terms in several of the Wu dialects. But 母 as a root morpheme which is often confused with the frequently found nasal prefix for kinship terms written as 姆. In this paper we distinguish them, by using the character 母 for the root morpheme and character 姆 for the nasal prefix. More details about 姆 will be given below.

2.2. Syllabic n from MC $*n-/*ŋ-$

The common syllabic n words are 兒、耳、二、and 你. The first three words have the 日 Ri initial and the last one has a 泥 Ni initial in MC. In the dialect reports both characters 爾 and 你 are used for the second person pronoun. In line with the other three words, the character for the second person pronoun should be 爾, which historically is a word with the Ri initial. Therefore, all alveolar or palatal syllabic nasals are derived from the MC Ri initial. The Ri initial is historically a nasal consonant. The nasal quality is still well preserved in southern dialects. For example, in the colloquial reading of the Shanghai dialect many MC Ri initial words are still pronounced with a nasal initial.

Shanghai	人	n̩ŋ	‘people’	日	n̩jɪʔ	‘sun, day’
	讓	n̩jaŋ	‘give up, let’	肉	n̩joʔ	‘meat, flesh’

In the MC system all these words belong to the 止 *Zhi* rhyme group. Besides the tonal difference, they are 兒, 爾 **-(w)ɪ^e*, 二 **-(w)ɪ*, and 耳 **-ɪ* (Pan 2000). The reconstructed rhymes in the *Zhi* rhyme group are basically a variety of monophthongs and diphthongs with high vowels. Without going into the details of the exact reconstructions of these rhymes, it is quite secure to say that the Wu alveolar and palatal syllabic nasals are the result of the change *n̩i* > *n*. Below are some examples from the southern Wu dialects (Cao 2002).

Southern Wu		1	2	3	4	5
	兒	ŋ	n̩i	n	n̩ie	n̩ie
	二	ŋ	n̩i	n	n̩i	n̩i
		1 Jinhua, 2 Longyou, 3 Changshan, 4 Suichang, 5 Qingyuan				

Like the labial syllabic nasals, there is no alveolar syllabic nasal derived directly from MC alveolar nasal endings.

2.3. Syllabic ŋ from MC *ŋ-

MC syllables with velar nasal initial **ŋ-* are a major source for syllabic *ŋ*. In the Wu, Yue, and Kejia dialects, the velar syllabic nasals are from the MC 遇 *Yu* rhyme group. Most of the syllabic nasals are from division I and some are from division III. The following examples are taken from *Hanyu Fangyin Zihui* (1989).

	吳	梧	午	伍	五	誤	悟	魚	娛
MC division	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	III	III
Suzhou	ŋ	ŋəu	ŋ/əu	əu	ŋ/əu	ŋəu	ŋəu	ŋ	ny
Meixian	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋu	ŋu	ŋ	ŋu
Guanzhou	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	jy	ju

In the Wu dialects, both division I and III syllables of the *Yu* rhyme group words still have a back unrounded vowel or a schwa reflex. These phonetic values could be the stages prior to the change to velar syllabic nasals. Below are more examples from the southern Wu dialects (Cao 2002).

Southern Wu		1	2	3	4	5
	吳	ŋ	ŋ	ŋuə	ŋuɣ	ŋuɣ
	魚	ny	ŋuə	ŋə	ŋɣ	ŋɣ

1 Jinhua, 2 Longyou, 3 Changshan, 4 Suichang, 5 Qingyuan

In some dialects, some MC syllables with zero initials acquired a velar nasal initial. These syllables are another source of syllabic nasals. In the Jiangyong dialect of the so-called *Hunan Tuhua* ‘local speech of Hunan,’ the syllabic nasals are from several historical sources. A number of words changed from syllables with no initial consonant in the MC system.

ŋ	<	*ʔan	庵安鞍暗案按
	<	*wan	碗
	<	*aj	愛

Although the first two groups had a nasal ending, the third group indicates a change $0 > \eta$ before these syllables change to syllabic nasals. The velar nasal initials of Jiangyong are basically from the MC velar nasal initial. But the velar nasal initials in a few syllables are from MC syllables with the 影 *Ying* initial or the zero initial. Examples include *ŋu* 哀 ‘sad’, *ŋau* 叻 ‘col’, and *ŋioŋ* 英 ‘flower lit.’ ($\eta > n / _j$). The word 哀 has dual pronunciations [ŋ] and [u]. The word 愛 has dual pronunciation [ŋ] and [u]. Thus, it is quite clear that the change is [ŋu] $>$ [ŋ], as we have suggested above as the necessary condition of change for syllabic *ŋ*. The alternative forms [ŋu] and [u] of 愛 are the same with words 艾 and 礙, which historically had a velar nasal initial. The other group of words 安, 暗, and 碗 likely underwent the same initial change as 愛, that is, $0 > \eta$. The words from the same rhyme group with an initial show a reflex of [uou]. Because final [uou] contains no nasal ending, the nasal sound must be from the initial.

2.4. Syllabic *ŋ* from MC *-N

The syllabic *ŋ* of the Min dialects have a different development from the Wu, Gan, Yue, and Kejia dialects. In the southern Min dialects, the syllables of MC 宕 *Dang*, 山 *Shan*, and 臻 *Zhen* rhyme groups have multiple strata of reflexes. One stratum is that the entire final is just a velar nasal consonant. Thus, in the Xiamen dialect these nasal consonants are indeed finals and can combine with all types of initials. When the initials are zero, these finals are syllables. In contrast with the Wu examples, these syllables are not related to the MC velar nasal initials. Below are the syllables from the MC *Dang*

rhyme group.

Xiamen	湯	桑	缸	康	光	廣	曠	荒	黃
	t ^h ŋ	sŋ	kŋ	k ^h ŋ	kŋ	kŋ	k ^h ŋ	hŋ	ŋ
	撞	長	瓢	釀	兩	秧	莊	霜	方
	tŋ	tŋ	nŋ	nŋ	nŋ	ŋ	tsŋ	sŋ	hŋ

The Shantou dialect, a southern Min variety spoken in eastern Guangdong province, suggests that these velar syllabic nasals are a reduction from *-vŋ*. Like the Xiamen dialect, a number of syllabic nasal words are from MC *Dang*, *Shan*, and *Zhen* rhyme groups.

Shantou	湯	堂	桑	喪	缸	糠	瓢	莊	霜
	t ^h vŋ	tvŋ	svŋ	svŋ	kvŋ	k ^h vŋ	nvŋ	tsvŋ	svŋ

The syllabic *ŋ* is the result of change from *-vŋ* to *ŋ*. The same observation can be made of the syllables from the MC *Shan* and *Zhen* rhyme groups.

The syllabic nasals of the Yiyang dialect of Hunan province also support this necessary change condition. In the Yiyang dialect of Hunan, the syllabic nasal words are from the MC 通 *Tong* rhyme group. All the words are realized as alveolar syllabic nasal *n*. Whether there was a shift of place of articulation from velar to alveolar is unclear, because there is no contrast between nasal endings in the Yiyang dialect.

Yiyang	紅	洪	逢	奉	甕			
	n	n	n	n	n			
	東	通	聾	中	聰	松	公	空
	tən	t ^h ən	lən	tsən	ts ^h ən	sən	kən	k ^h ən

All syllabic nasal syllables have voiced laryngeal or labiodental initials in MC. The other syllables from the MC *Tong* rhyme group are basically [ən] as in the Changsha dialect of Hunan. Thus, the change condition is that the nucleus was [ə] or something similar.

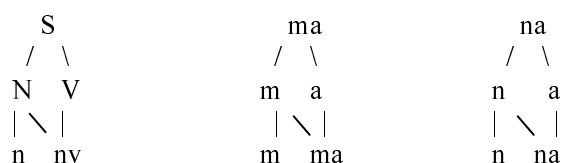
2.5. Homorganic nasal extension

Some syllabic nasals are prefixes. According to the tradition of Chinese dialectology, every syllable should be transcribed with a Chinese character. But using characters to transcribe such syllabic nasals creates an impression that such syllables are independent morphemes. For example, 姆 in the Guangyun belongs to the 侯 *Hou* rhyme, homophonous to words 茂 and 貿. Semantically, it is not related to the

meaning of ‘mother’ and phonologically the tonal category is mismatch.

Such syllabic nasals are actually the product of a morphological process of kinship terms mainly found in central dialects. In the Wu, Gan, and Xiang dialects, a very common kinship term for mother is 媽媽. The first syllable *m*, written as 姆, is phonetically a bilabial syllabic nasal. This syllabic nasal is the result of a morphological process, which is phonologically realized as a homorganic nasal extension of the nasal initial of the root morpheme 媽 [ma]. This morphological process changes the monosyllabic word *ma* to a disyllabic word *m ma*.

This morphological process can be illustrated as follows. The same process can be observed in the word *n na*, which is derived from a monosyllabic word *na* 奶.



Based on the tone sandhi rules, the disyllabic word carries a disyllabic tone. Below is an example from the Shanghai dialect. The 55 + 31 is the tonal value of this disyllabic word.

Wu Shanghai 媽 ma 51 > m ma 55 + 31 ‘mother’

In Shanghai, this morphological process determines the tonal category of the outcome disyllabic word. Regardless of the tonal category of the monosyllabic word, the outcome of the disyllabic form is 55 + 31.

Wu Shanghai 奶 na 113 > n na 55 + 31 ‘grandmother’

Although the tones of monosyllabic morphemes *ma* and *na* are 51 and 113 respectively, the disyllabic forms have the same tonal contour, 55 + 31. Identical morphological forms also can be found for other kinship terms, though these are not as common as the form for mother (based on Qian 1992). For example, for grandmother the form *n na* 奶奶 can be found in Zhoupu, Shanghai, Songjiang, and Hangzhou; for father’s sister the form *n niaŋ* 姨娘 can be found in a number of dialects including Kunshan, Hanzhou, Lili, Shuanglin, and Shengze. The place of articulation however, interestingly, varies. It is an alveolar *n* in Kunshan and Hangzhou; a velar *ŋ* in Lili and Shuanglin, and a bilabial *m* in Shengze.

‘father’s sister’

Wu	Kunshan	ʔn niã	44 + 41	Hangzhou	ʔn nian	33 + 51
	Lili	ʔŋ niẽ	44 + 51	Shuanglin	ʔŋ niã	44 + 44
	Shengze	ʔm niã	44 + 44			

This morphological form is only found in the kinship terms for female relatives who are at least one generation higher (Shen 1994). Thus, various syllabic nasals as the first syllable of kinship terms are actually derived from a single morphological process.

2.6. A summary of the historical sources

The historical sources of various syllabic nasals can be summarized as follows. The MC phonological categories are used just for purposes of convenience and are not meant to suggest that they are the direct sources from which the syllabic nasals are derived.

(a) Velar syllabic nasal, ŋ

1. MC 疑 Yi initial ŋ-, 遇 Yu rhyme group 五 ‘five’, 魚 ‘fish’
Wu: Suzhou, Gan: Nanchang, Xiang: Qiyang, Kejia Meixian, Yue
Guanzhou, Ping: Nanning, Hui: Xiuning (n), Tuhua: Jiangyong
2. MC 疑 Yi initial ŋ-, 模 Mu rhyme group 我 ‘I, me’, 餓 ‘hungry’
SE. Mandarin: Haimen, Wu: Tiantai, Xiang (Old): Qiyang, Tuhua:
Jiangyong
3. MC 宕 Dang rhyme group -ŋ 光 ‘light’, 秧 ‘seedling’
S. Min: Xiamen
4. MC 通 Tong rhyme group -ŋ 紅 ‘red’, *動 ‘move’
Wu: Tiantai, N Min: Huangkeng, Xiang: Yiyang, Gan: *Nancheng
5. MC 梗 Geng rhyme group -ŋ 行 ‘walk’, 橫 ‘horizontal’
C. Min: Yong’an
6. MC 山 Shan rhyme group -n 飯 ‘rice’, 圓 ‘round’
S. Min: Xiamen
7. MC 臻 Zhen rhyme group -n 村 ‘village’, 門 ‘door’
S. Min: Xiamen

(b) Alveolar syllabic nasal, n

1. MC 日 Ri initial -n, 止 Zhi rhyme group 爾 ‘you’, 耳 ‘ear’
SW. Mandarin: Wuhan, Wu: Suzhou, Hui: Xiuning, Gan: Nanchang,
Xiang: Changsha, Tuhua: Daoxian, Kejia: Xiongzhou

(c) Labial syllabic nasal, m

1. MC 明 Ming initial m-, 流 Liu rhyme group: 畝 ‘acre’, 母 ‘mother’
SE. Mandarin: Haimen, Wu: Suzhou, Hui: Xiuning, S. Min: Xiamen
2. MC 明 Ming initial m-, 蟹 Xie rhyme group: 梅 ‘plum’, 媒 ‘make match’
S. Min: Xiamen

(d) N prefix 姆 (嗯)

1. SW Mandarin: Binhai, Wu: Suzhou, Gan: Nanchang, Xiang: Changsha, Hui: Xiuning, Tuhua: Daoxian, Kejia (JX): Ningdu

3. The contrast between places of articulation

In a dialect, syllabic nasals can have contrasts between places of articulation. According to the available data, a dialect can have at most a three-way contrast. Below we present the types of syllabic nasals according to the number of places of articulation that the syllables display.

3.1. Three-way contrast

In the northern Wu dialects a three-way contrast is common. For example, Suzhou, Ningbo, and Huangyan have bilabial, alveolar, and velar syllabic nasals.

Wu	Suzhou	m 姆畝	n 你	ŋ 五吳魚兒 (HFZ 1989)
	Huangyan	m 無畝姆	n 你耳兒二	ŋ 五吳魚午

As a common phonological feature, in the northern Wu dialects the nasal initials often have a three-way contrast of place of articulation, but the finals do not have such a contrast at the ending position. For example, the Suzhou dialect has three phonologically contrastive nasal initials, *m*, *n*, and *ŋ*.

Wu	Suzhou	‘hat’	帽	mæ	‘slow’	慢	mE
		‘noisy’	鬧	næ	‘disaster’	難	nE
		‘arrogant’	傲	ŋæ	‘obstruct’	礙	ŋE

But in the Wu dialects, the finals do not have the same contrast at the ending position. MC nasal endings **-m*, **-n*, and **-ŋ* merged in the Wu dialect in general. The Suzhou dialect can be used as an example to show the general pattern of Wu.

Wu	Suzhou	‘gold’	金	tɕin	<	*-m
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‘towel’	巾	tɕin	<	*-n
‘capital’	京	tɕin	<	*-ŋ

Clearly, the contrast of place of articulation of the syllabic nasals is a characteristic of the initial system instead of the final system. The syllabic nasals in the Wu dialects thus actually are the nasal initial only; the syllables have no relationship with any segment of the finals.

3.2. Two-way contrast

In the Xuanzhou subgroup of Wu dialects and its adjacent Hui dialects, a two-way contrast of bilabial and alveolar is a common pattern. The same contrast also can be found in various Xiang dialects, as well as the southwestern Mandarin dialects that are geographically adjacent to the Xiang speaking area. In these dialects, fewer lexical items are found, only 姆 at the bilabial position and 爾(你) at the alveolar position. As shown in the examples above, these two words are commonly found in the Wu dialects.

Bilabial and Alveolar

Wu	Xuanzhou	m 姆	n 你	(Jiang 2003)
	Guichi	m 姆	n 魚女你	(Jiang 2003)
Hui	Jixi	m 母	n 爾兒二耳	(Hirata et al 1998)
	Xiuning	m 母畝	n 二五爾	(Hirata et al 1998)
Xiang, New	Changsha	m 姆	n 你	(HFZ 1989)
Xiang, Old	Shuangfeng	m 姆	n 你	(HFZ 1989)
SW Mandarin	Wuhan	m 姆	n 你	(HFZ 1989)

From the examples given above, we see that the relationship between a three-way contrast and a two-way contrast is basically whether alveolar and velar nasals are distinguished. The two-way contrast is the merger of the velar nasal into the alveolar nasal.

The two-way contrast can also be found in the old Kejia dialects (Zhuang 2004) spoken in northern Guangdong.

Old Kejia	Xiongzhou	m 五吳	n 你魚	(Zhuang 2004)
	Changjiang	m 五門問	n 魚藝耳	(Zhuang 2004)

The Xiongzhou and Changjiang varieties show that 五 and 吳 (MC *ŋ-) are realized as bilabial nasals instead of velar nasals. This is actually a quite common feature of the dialects spoken in the northern Guangdong area. The Yuebei Tuhua

spoken in the same general area (Zhuang 2004) also has the bilabial nasal reflexes, e.g. Qujiang: *m* 吳, 五; Wujiang: *m* 吳, 五, 魚 (MC *ʝ-) is however an alveolar nasal in this area.

In the southern Wu dialects spoken in Zhejiang province, the common pattern is often a two-way contrast of bilabial and velar.

Wu	Wenzhou	<i>m</i> 姆	ŋ 吳鵝兒二	(HFZ 1989)
	Shengxian	<i>m</i> 畝無	ŋ 五魚紅	(Qian 1992)

The two-way contrast of the Wenzhou dialect is the result of merging the alveolar nasal into the velar nasal. The Yue dialects show a similar pattern.

Yue	Guangzhou	<i>m</i> 唔	ŋ 吳五	(HFZ 1989)
Kejia	Meixian	<i>m</i> 唔	ŋ 五魚	(HFZ 1989)

The Yongkang dialect of Wu. shows a two-way contrast of alveolar and palatal. This two-way contrast seems uncommon. But the words with palatal nasals are velar nasals in other Wu dialects. In comparison with the three-way contrast as observed in the Suzhou dialect, the main difference is that the Yongkang dialect does not have labial nasals. The labial nasals merged into alveolar ones.

Wu	Yongkang	<i>n</i> 無你兒耳	ɲ 午五嚶	(Yuan 1983)
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In Min dialects, the syllabic nasals can also be found, but not in every subgroup.

Min	Northern	Jian'ou	<i>m</i> --	ŋ --	(HFZ 1989)
	Eastern	Fuzhuo	<i>m</i> --	ŋ neg.	(HFZ 1989)
	Northern*	Shaowu	<i>m</i> --	ŋ 五魚	(Li 1991)
	Central	Sanyuan	<i>m</i> 庵行秧	ŋ 搬翻村分橫	(Li 1991)
	Southern	Xiamen	<i>m</i> 梅茅	ŋ 秧黃方酸	(HFZ 1989)
	Southern	Datian	<i>m</i> --	ŋ 秧黃影	(Li 1991)
	Southern	Chaozhou	<i>m</i> 姆	ŋ 秧黃恩遠	(HFZ 1989)
	Southern	Shantou	<i>m</i> 姆唔	ŋ 秧黃荒方	(Lin & Chen 1996)
	Southern	Haikang	<i>m</i> 姆	ŋ 秧	(Lin & Chen 1996)
	Southern	Longdu	<i>m</i> 唔	ŋ 吳	(Lin & Chen 1996)

No three-way contrast is found in Min. The two-way contrast is of bilabial and velar. According to the subgrouping of the Min dialects (Li 1991), northern Min, as represented by Jian'ou, does not have syllabic nasals. The eastern Min as represented by Fuzhou has a negative morpheme as a syllabic nasal. The place of articulation of this

morpheme is determined by the place of articulation of the following syllable (Chen 1998).

In the southern Min, as represented by Xiamen and Datian, syllabic nasals are quite common. In southern Min, the syllabic velar nasals are true finals. They can combine with initials. Using the words 秧 and 荒 to trace the distribution of this syllabic nasal, we can find this southern Min feature in the Chaozhou, Shantou, and Haikang dialects in Guangdong province. These southern Min dialects, thus, show a relationship among themselves, but no relationship with the northern or the eastern Min dialects.

Whether the Shaowu dialect should be classified as a Min or a Kejia dialect is controversial (Li and Chen 1991). The lexical items with syllabic nasal pronunciation in the Shaowu dialect are, however, similar to those in the Kejia dialect and not the Min.

Min/Kejia	Shaowu	m --	ŋ 五魚	(Li 1991)
Kejia	Meixian	m 唔	ŋ 五魚	(HFZ 1989)

If we exclude the southern Min varieties in Guangdong province, Min dialects do not share the same lexical items with Wu dialects. In other words, Min syllabic nasals are the results of independent phonological changes from different historical sources.

It should be noted that the Min dialect island in the Zhongshan city of Guangdong province shows a similar pattern to the Yue and the Kejia dialects spoken in the same region. The words with velar syllabic nasals are similar to those in the Wu dialects. But the widely existing bilabial syllabic nasal for negative words in the Yue dialects can be connected to the Tai languages (John Hartmann 1974, refer to Hashimoto 1985:78).

Zhongshan Min	Longdu	m 唔	ŋ 吳	(Lin & Chen 1996)
	Nanyin	m 唔	ŋ 吳	(Lin & Chen 1996)
	Sanxiang	m 唔	ŋ 伍	(Lin & Chen 1996)
Kejia	Zhongshan	m 唔	ŋ 吳	(Gan 2003)
Yue	Guangzhou	m 唔	ŋ 吳五	(HFZ 1989)

The similarity in the Min dialect island is clearly a local mixture. This phenomenon actually provides us with important information about how the phonological features are transmitted.

3.3. Single syllabic nasal

Syllabic nasals in many dialects do not show a contrast between place of articulation. The more typical examples are found in northern Guangdong where the

dialects are classified as Yuebei Tuhua (Zhuang 2004). The syllabic nasal words are historically the syllables with a velar nasal initial (吳, 五), or from the MC 𪛗 *Shan* rhyme group with a zero initial (安, 碗). The place of articulation of the same words can be bilabial, alveolar, or velar. Below are some examples.

Qujiang/Baisha	m 吳五安	Lianzhou/Lianzhou	m 吳五
Lianzhou/Bao'an	n 吳五	Lianzhou/Fengyang	n 五唔
Lechang/Sanxi	ŋ 五碗	Lianzhou/Xi'an	ŋ 吳五

The Jiangyong dialect, a variety of Hunan Tuhua, also shows no contrast in place of articulation. The words from both MC initial **ŋ*- and the MC 𪛗 *Shan* rhyme group are realized as velar syllabic nasals. The Yiyang dialect of Xiang shows a single alveolar syllabic nasal. The Yiyang dialect has one alveolar syllabic nasal. The words are from the 通 *Tong* rhyme group of MC.

Jiangyong	ŋ 五餓/安碗愛	(Huang 1993)
Yiyang	n 紅洪逢奉甕	(Xu 2001)

The distinction in the place of articulation becomes insignificant for the syllabic nasals with no contrast of place articulation; thus the place of articulation can be changed quite freely.

4. The isoglosses of syllabic nasals

The analyses above show that the syllabic nasals can be distinguished into two types, Type-I (N < NV) and Type-II (-N < (G)VN). The syllabic nasals of Type-I are entire syllables and cannot combine with initials. The lexical items involved are usually high frequency words. The syllabic nasals of Type-II are not syllables but finals and appear as regular changes. In terms of geographic distribution, they are quite distinct as well. Type-I usually has a wide geographic distribution. In contrast with Type-I, Type-II is usually found within one sub-dialect area. In the following analyses our emphasis will be on Type-I syllabic nasals.

The wide distribution of Type-I syllabic nasals should be considered as the spread of an ancient dialectal feature and its isogloss can provide information about the boundaries of ancient dialects. Let us use the following thirteen dialects to illustrate the distribution of the syllabic nasals.

1. Southeastern Mandarin	Yangzhou	(HFZ 1989)
2. Southwestern Mandarin	Wuhan	(HFZ 1989)
3. Old Xiang	Shuangfeng	(HFZ 1989)

4.	New Xiang	Changsha	(HFZ 1989)
5.	Gan	Nanchang	(HFZ 1989)
6.	Northern Wu	Suzhou	(HFZ 1989)
7.	Southern Wu	Huangyan	(Qian 1992)
8.	Old Kejia	Changting	(Lan 1999)
9.	New Kejia	Meixian	(HFZ 1989)
10.	Yue	Guangzhou	(HFZ 1989)
11.	Southern Min in Guangdong	Shantou	(Lin 1996)
12.	Southern Min	Xiamen	(HFZ 1989)
13.	Eastern Min	Fuzhou	(HFZ 1989)

The five characters 姆, 爾, 五, 秧, and 唔 are used to represent five different kinds of syllabic nasals respectively: 姆 for the labial nasal prefix (*m-*), 爾 for the alveolar syllabic nasals (*< *n-*), 五 for the velar syllabic nasals (*< *ŋ-*), 秧 for the velar syllabic nasals historically from nasal endings (*< *-ŋ*), and 唔 for the labial syllabic nasal for the negative morpheme (neg.). Below is a chart showing the distribution of these five kinds of syllabic nasals in various dialects. For more details, refer to the maps and the appendix.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
姆	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
爾	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
五	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
秧	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
唔	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

Based on the data and analyses provided above, the following observations can be made.

4.1. Observations

Distributions of the first three kinds of syllabic nasals, represented by 姆, 爾, and 五, are clearly supradialectal. Their isoglosses do not coincide with the boundaries of modern dialects. On the other hand, the isoglosses 姆 and 爾 fit the geographic areas of modern Wu, Gan, and Xiang as well as Hunan Tuhua quite well. The distribution of 秧 is generally a southern Min feature and the distribution of 唔 is quite concentrated in Guangdong province.

The bilabial syllabic nasal 姆 (Figure 1) is clearly a characteristic of central dialects—Wu, Xiang, Gan, and the Tuhua in Hunan and northern Guangdong. According to the dialect reports, this bilabial 姆 seems to also be in existence in the southern Min dialects, e.g. Xiamen, Shantou, and Leizhou. But this is merely a graphic

confusion. This word is 母 instead of the prefix as in Wu dialects. In Xiamen, the word 母 ‘mother’ has two pronunciations: a syllabic nasal [m], written as 姆, in words such as 丈姆 [tiu m] ‘wife’s mother’ and 安姆 [an m] ‘father’s elder brother’s wife’; and [bu], written as 母, in words such as 老母 [lau bu] ‘mother’ and 姨母 [i bu] ‘mother’s elder sister’ (Li et al 1996).

The alveolar syllabic nasals represented by the second person pronoun 爾 (你) have very similar distribution to 姆. But they can be realized as velar nasals, as in the Linghua of Longsheng in Guangxi (Wang 1979). Inside the isoglosses of 姆 and 爾 there are modern central dialects, Wu, Gan, Xiang, and Hunan Tuhua, as well as varieties of southeastern and southwestern Mandarin dialects.

The velar syllabic nasal that historically derived from the velar nasal initial has the widest distribution (Figure 2). The dialects having this feature include Wu, Gan, Xiang, Ping, Hunan Tuhua, Yuebei Tuhua, and Yue. Min dialects basically do not exhibit this kind of syllabic nasal. It is only found in the Shaowu dialect of northern Min. Of course, Shaowu is geographically very close to the Wu speaking area. Some Wu dialects spoken in the southwestern corner of the Wu area, e.g. Jiangshan of Zhejiang, Guangfeng of Jiangxi, also do not show this feature (Akitani 2001). The syllabic nasals in southeastern and southwestern Mandarin dialects are a substratum, since syllabic nasals are not the phonological characteristics of northern Mandarin dialects.

There is a Min-specific velar syllabic nasal that is related to the MC 宕 *Dang* rhyme group **(j)aŋ* as well as the 合口 *hekou* syllables of the 山 *Shan* and 臻 *Zhen* rhyme groups (HFZ 1985). This type has a limited geographical distribution. Outside Fujian province this velar syllabic nasal can only be found in Min dialects spoken in Guangdong province (Lin 1996), and most of the words are related to the MC *Dang* rhyme group only.

Similar change derived from the velar nasal ending can be found in southern Wu dialects. Some velar syllabic nasals are originally from the MC 通 *Tong* rhyme group **-uŋ*. In the Guangfeng dialect of Wu, 紅 and 翁 are velar syllabic nasals (Akitani 2001). This feature can also be found in the Tiantai dialect (Dai 2002) and the Shengxian dialect of Wu (Qian 1992). Unlike in the southern Min, the velar syllabic nasal can combine velar initials only, e.g. 工, 公 *kŋ*, 控, 空 *k^hŋ*.

The distribution of negative word 唔 is largely a feature of the dialects spoken in Guangdong province. The Yue dialects are the most typical examples. But this word also can be found in the Kejia and Yuebei Tuhua.

4.2. Tentative explanations

The distributions of various forms of syllabic nasals reveal two interrelated pieces

of information about Chinese dialects in history. One is the relative chronology of dialect groups. Second is the direction of dialect movements. The lack of syllabic nasals related to the change $*NV > N$ (including the nasal prefix) indicates that the formation of Min dialects is unrelated to dialects showing this change. The formation of various Min dialects is earlier than other central and southern dialects. Therefore this phenomenon is consistent with the consensus of Chinese dialectologists that the Min dialect split from the other dialects first. Thus, the sound change $*NV > N$ must have happened after the initial formation of the Min dialects.

The sound change $*NV > N$ apparently affected the rest of the central and southern dialects. It should be pointed out here that there is a difference in geographic distribution between syllabic m/n and syllabic η . This difference can be summarized as follows (refer to the appendix for details).

NV > N	<i>West</i>				<i>East</i>	
	<i>North</i>	Tuhua HN	Xiang		Gan	Wu
		$m/(n)\eta^*$	$m/n/(\eta)$		$m/n/\eta$	$m/n/\eta$
	<i>South</i>	Ping	Yue		Kejia	Min
		η	η		$(m/n)/\eta$	--

*parenthesis indicates that the presence of the syllabic nasal is rather weak.

As a contrast, the other central and southern dialects all show varying degrees of the syllabic nasals from the change $*NV > N$. The central dialects Wu, Gan, and Xiang have the greatest variety of lexical items and a three-way contrast of place of articulation. Thus the bundle of isoglosses of syllabic nasals m , n , and η provides the rough boundary of an ancient Wu-Gan-Xiang dialect.

The modern Kejia, Yue, and Ping dialects and the Yuebei Tuhua in northern Guangdong show a strong presence of syllabic η ($< * \eta$ -) but in general lack labial and alveolar syllabic nasals developed from initials. (The negative m is an exception, and we have pointed out earlier that this word may have a non-Chinese origin). But the difficulty is that the change $\eta < * \eta V$ is more regular in Yue dialects than in Wu or Gan dialects.

		吳	梧	午	伍	五	誤	悟
Suzhou	(Wu)	η	$\eta\text{əu}$	$\eta/\text{əu}$	əu	$\eta/\text{əu}$	$\eta\text{əu}$	$\eta\text{əu}$
Nanchang	(Gan)	u	u	u	u	η/u	u	u
Meixian	(Kejia)	η	η	η	η	η	ηu	ηu
Guanzhou	(Yue)	η	η	η	η	η	η	η
Lianzhou	(Yue)	η	η	η	η	η	η	η
Nanning	(Ping)	--	--	η^w	--	η^w	η^w	--

Thus, the syllabic η of the Yue dialects (see Figure 2) is likely to be a local innovation instead of a common development with central dialects. Otherwise it would be very difficult to explain why in these dialects only the syllabic η is so well preserved but not the labial and alveolar syllabic nasals. The syllabic η of Kejia dialects spoken in Guangdong is likely from the Yue dialects. Several linguistic features, lexical items and devoicing patterns, suggest that Gan dialects and Kejia dialects shared a common development in history. We can compare the syllabic nasals in Kejia and Gan. The difference is quite clear. In Gan dialects a three-way contrast still can be observed. But lexical items are greatly reduced. On the other hand, Kejia dialects however show a similar regular pattern as in Yue dialects.

But it is worth noting that the syllabic nasal words have survived in the colloquial layer of modern dialects. This phenomenon suggests that dialect change is basically the phenomenon of **language shift** (Thomason 2001). In other words, Chinese dialects were not formed and spread in a linguistic vacuum but rather in the areas where older dialects were already in existence. In language shift, when a newer dialect replaces an older dialect, some basic features of the older dialect will be brought into the newer dialect by the speakers. Through history the boundaries of the Chinese dialects could have been changed, created, and erased. But some of the features cannot be totally erased. For example, the syllabic *m*- prefix is not a Mandarin feature, but it exists in many southwestern and southeastern Mandarin dialects. This feature is obviously inherited from the older dialects that existed in these areas historically and survived through language shift.

It is clear that early dialectal relationships are greatly blurred by subsequent waves of new linguistic layers. To use the entire phonological system, which is an accumulation of historical layers, to study the relationships of the dialects may not lead us to find information about the earlier history of Chinese dialects. But on the other hand, if certain unusual linguistic features can be found across modern dialects, we may discover the isoglosses of ancient dialects.

Appendix: The syllabic nasal words in the Chinese dialects

		m	n	ŋ(n)	
Mandarin					
Haimen	JS	姆母	吳無五兒	鵝我餓	(Bao & Wang 2002)
Yangzhou	JS	姆			(HFZ 1989)
Hongze	JS	姆	X 奶		(JSSZ 1998)
Sheyang	JS	姆		我	(JSSZ 1998)
Huaiyin	JS	姆	X 奶		(JSSZ 1998)
Wuhan	HB	姆	你		(HFZ 1989)
Jianli	HB	姆			(XZXZ 1994)
Changde	HN	姆			(HNXZ 2001)
Yongzhou	HN	姆			(HNXZ 2001)
Anxiang	HN	姆			(Ying 1994)
Wu					
Sijia	JS	姆安半官			(Bao & Wang 2002)
Haimen	JS	姆母	吳無五兒	鵝我餓	(Bao & Wang 2002)
Suzhou	JS	姆畝	你	五魚兒	(HFZ 1989)
Gaochun	JS	姆母尾	女米魚二		(JSSZ 1998)
Shanghai	SH	姆畝		五魚	(Qian 1992)
Chongming	SH	姆	吳無你兒	鵝我梧梧	(Zhang 1979)
Hangzhou	ZJ	姆	你嚶		(Qian 1992)
Tiantai	ZJ	姆畝	兒	五魚紅	(Dai 2002)
Huzhou	ZJ	無姆畝	魚吳五我		(Qian 1992)
Ningbo	ZJ	無姆	你	五魚兒	(Qian 1992)
Huangyan	ZJ	無畝姆	你耳兒二	魚吳午五	(Qian 1992)
Wenzhou	ZJ	姆		吳鵝兒二	(Qian 1992)
Zhuji	ZJ	無姆	你	魚吳五耳	(Qian 1992)
Jinhua	ZJ	無姆		五午兒耳	(Qian 1992)
Yongkang	ZJ	無你兒耳	午五嚶		(Qian 1992)
Shengxian	ZJ	畝無		五魚兒	(Qian 1992)
Xuanzhou	AH	姆	你		(Jiang 2003)
Guichi	AH	姆	魚女你		(Jiang 2003)
Guangfeng	JX	唔		耳	(Chen & Li 1991)
Hui					
Shexian	AH	母(姆)	爾		(Hirata et al 1998)
Xiuning	AH	母(姆)畝	二五爾		(Hirata et al 1998)
Wuyuan	JX	姆			(WYXZ 1993)
Gan					
Nanchang	JX	姆	你	五	(HFZ 1989)

Nancheng	JX	姆		吳五筒動	(Qiu 2001)
Yujiang	JX	姆	唔	五午吳誤	(YJXZ 1993)
Hukou	JX	姆	你	五	(HKXZ 1992)
Ninggang	JX	姆		五吳魚	(NGXZ 1995)
Susong	AH	姆	你那		(Tang 2005)
Pingjiang	HN	姆	你	吳五魚甕	(HNXZ 2001)
Youxian	HN			魚	(HNXZ 2001)
Xiang, New					
Changsha	HN	姆	你		(HFZ 1989)
Hengyang	HN	姆			(Li 1984)
Anren	HN		你		(Chen 1995)
Xiang, Old					
Shuangfeng	HN	姆	你		(HFZ 1989)
Yiyang	HN		紅洪逢奉甕		(Xu 2001)
Xinhua	HN	姆	你人翁		(Luo 1998)
Shaoshan	HN	姆	你	我	(Zeng 1999)
Qiyang	HN			我五	(Li 1998)
Xiangxiang	HN	姆	你	我黃	(Zeng 1999)
Tuhua, Hunan					
Jiangyong	HN	姆*		五餓安人愛	(Huang 1993, *Xie 2002)
Linwu	HN			五悟官寬旱	(Chen 2002)
Daoxian	HN	姆	你*	五午你安木	(He 2003, *Xie 2002)
Lanshan	HN	姆	五		(Luo 2002)
Dong'an	HN	鵝墓梧	五		(Bao 1998)
Guiyang	HN	五人午			(Tang 2000)
Yuanling	HN			黃人岸二	(HNXZ 2001)
Tuhua, Yuebei					
Baisha	GD	吳五安			(Zhuang 2004)
Lianzhou	GD	吳五			(Zhuang 2004)
Bao'an	GD		吳五		(Zhuang 2004)
Fengyang	GD		五唔		(Zhuang 2004)
Sanxi	GD			五碗	(Zhuang 2004)
Xi'an	GD			吳五	(Zhuang 2004)
Longsheng	GX			五人你	(Wang 1979)
Ping					
Nanning	GX			五午誤忤	(Tan et al 1997)
Lin'gui	GX			五午	(Liang 1997)
Yue					
Guangzhou	GD	唔		吳五	(HFZ 1989)
Zhaoqing	GD	唔		吳梧	(Zhan & Zhang 1998)
Huaiji	GD	唔		吳梧誤五	(Zhan & Zhang 1998)

Yunfu	GD	唔		吳梧誤五	(Zhan & Zhang 1998)
Yunan	GD			吳梧誤五	(Zhan & Zhang 1998)
Lianzhou	GX			吳五午娛	(Chen & Chen 2005)
Kejia					
Jinhua	ZJ	母	五午		(Cao 2004)
Ningdu	JX	姆	唔	五	(Xie 2003)
Ganzhou	JX	唔			(GZSZ 1999)
Changting	FJ			吳五午誤	(Lan 1999)
Wujing	GD	五吳女魚			(Zhuang 2004)
Xiongzhou	GD	五吳	你魚		(Zhuang 2004)
Changjiang	GD	五門問	魚藝耳		(Zhuang 2004)
Meixian	GD	唔		五魚	(HFZ 1989)
Zhongshan	GD	唔		吳	(Gan 2003)
Zengcheng	GD	唔		吳魚五誤	(Luo & Wang 1998)
Lingxian	HN			五魚	(HNXZ 2001)
Guidong	HN		五二		(HNXZ 2001)
Rucheng	HN		你	五午唔	(HNXZ 2001)
Min, Southern					
Xiamen	FJ	姆(母)媒		方飯園村門	(Li 1996)
Zhangping	FJ	不		方長講秧	(Zhang 1992)
Datian	FJ			荒丈光秧	(Chen & Li 1991)
Chaozhou	GD	姆(母)		黃恩欣遠	(Lin & Chen 1996)
Shantou	GD	姆(母)		荒方秧黃	(Lin & Chen 1996)
Haikang	GD	姆(母)		秧	(Lin & Chen 1996)
Min, Eastern					
Fuzhou	FJ			neg.	(HFZ 1989)
Min, Central					
Yong'an	FJ			秧行影暗橫	(Zhou & Lin 1992)
Min, Northern					
Shaowu	FJ			五魚	(Chen & Li 1991)
Huangkeng	FJ			蟲紅	(Chen & Li 1991)

Figure 1. The distribution of syllabic nasal *m*- (姆)

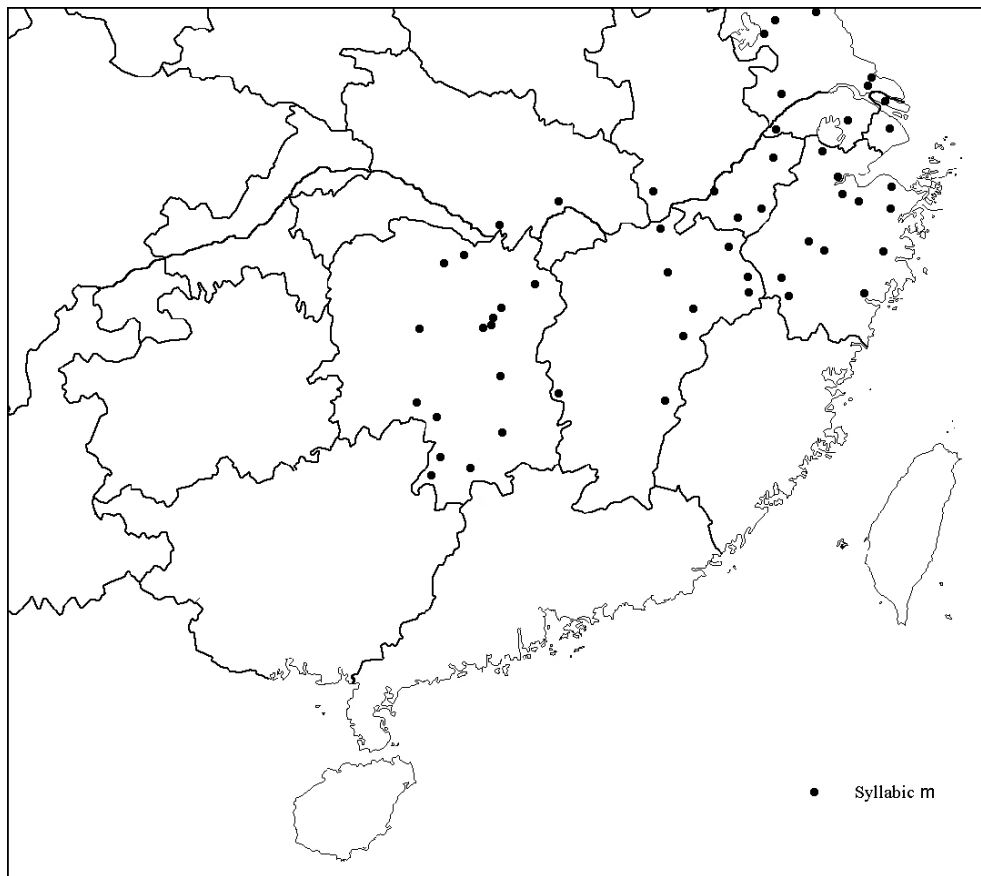
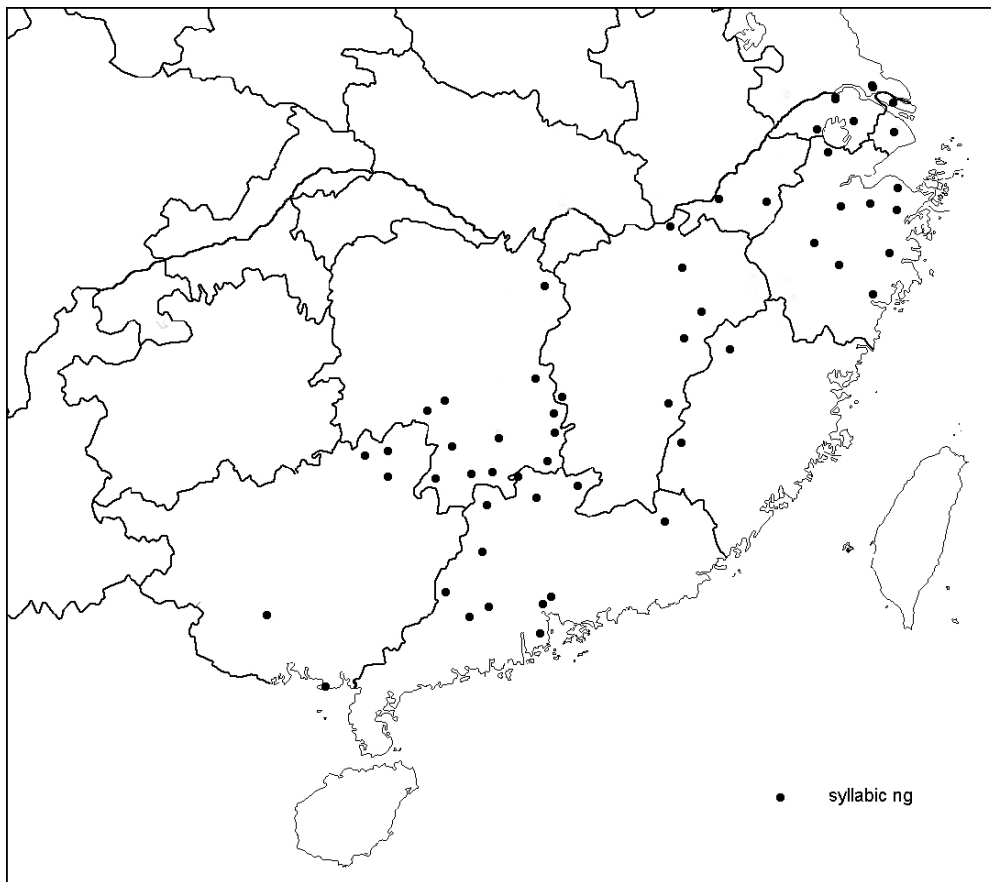


Figure 2. The distribution of syllabic nasal η - (五)



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漢語方言裡的成音節鼻音

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中國南方方言和北方官話方言有一個明顯區別，這就是中國南方方言的白讀層次中普遍出現成音節鼻音，例如，蘇州話的「畝」[m³¹]，南昌話的「你」[n²¹³]，廣州話的「五」[ŋ²³]。本文分析成音節鼻音的歷史來源和地理分佈。分析的結果表明成音節鼻音有不同的歷史來源，由聲母變化而來的 (N < NV)，和由韻尾變化而來的 (-N < -(G)VN)。前者的同言線呈現超方言的分佈狀態。作為古方言語音特徵的遺存，其超方言的地理分佈為探討方言歷史地理，尤其是方言形成的相對年代及其地理走向，提供了重要信息。

關鍵詞：成音節鼻音 (syllabic nasal), 同言線 (isogloss), 方言地理 (dialectal geography), 南方方言 (southern dialects)

Fission Reduplication in Modern Chinese Dialects*

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1. Introduction

There is a common phenomenon in Chinese, from Old Chinese down through modern dialects, in which a monosyllabic word phonologically and semantically corresponds to a disyllabic word. Here are three examples from the Xin'an 新安 dialect: $tjəw^{33}$ 丟 'carry, lift'¹ $\leftrightarrow ti^{33} ljəw^0$ 'lift (something to throw it away), detain'; 2) $tɕjəw^{33}$ 焦 'coke, burned things'; $\leftrightarrow tɕi^{33} ljəw^0$ 'dregs of fat'; 3) $xuŋ^{53}$ 哄 'fool, humbug' $\leftrightarrow xu^{53} luŋ^0$ 'fool, palm something off on'.² Scholars have been interested in this phenomenon for a long time, and they have identified many instances of it through history. Over the past several decades, the research on this phenomenon has progressed, not only in data collection, but also in attempts to account for the phenomenon. In my previous paper (Sun 2004), I dealt with the case in Old Chinese. The present paper aims at investigating and analyzing the same phenomenon in modern Chinese dialects. There are three objectives in this paper: the first is to analyze the data collected from modern Chinese dialects to explore the nature of this phenomenon; the second is to develop a generative theory of morpho-phonological interaction to account for the formation of this reduplication pattern, and the third is to make a comparison across modern dialects with respect to the form alternation.

2. The establishment of fission reduplication

The phenomenon under discussion is actually related to a type of reduplication that I

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¹ This usage of 丟 can also be found in the Xiaoyi 孝義 dialect. See *Hanyu fangyan dacidian* [漢語方言大詞典] Vol. 2, P.2002.

² All data in this paper come from my fieldwork except where otherwise noted.

call fission reduplication. Let us explore this through some examples.

(1) Correspondence of monosyllabic form to disyllabic form in Shunping 順平

Monosyllabic form	Disyllabic form
a. tɕiŋ ⁵⁵ 驚 ‘startle’	tɕi ⁵⁵ liŋ ⁰ ‘startle (with physical reaction)’
b. tɕiŋ ⁵⁵ 精 ‘smart’	tɕi ⁵⁵ liŋ ⁰ ‘clever, nimble’
c. t ^h wo ⁵⁵ 脫 ‘take off (clothes)’	tu ⁵⁵ lwo ⁰ ‘(sleeves or trouser legs) hang loose’
d. t ^h wo ⁵⁵ 拖 ³ ‘drag’	t ^h a ⁵⁵ la ⁰ ‘slip on cloth shoes without pulling up the heels’
e. ts ^h a ⁵⁵ 擦 ‘wipe’	ts ^h ɿ ⁵⁵ la ⁰ ‘rub one’s shoe against something in order to remove dirt on it’
f. tɕ ^h ɥen ⁵⁵ 圈 ‘circle’	tɕ ^h y ⁵⁵ ljen ⁰ ‘(hair) curly’
g. po ⁵⁵ 撥 ‘move or adjust’	pu ⁵⁵ la ⁰ ‘repeatedly move horizontally’ with hand, foot, or stick’
h. pa ⁵⁵ 扒 ‘pull down’	pa ⁵⁵ la ⁰ ‘push slightly, repeatedly pull down’
i. pa ⁵⁵ 疤 ‘scar’	pa ⁵⁵ la ⁰ ‘scar (usually more than one)’
j. tɕa ⁵⁵ 渣 ‘dregs’	tɕɿ ⁵⁵ la ⁰ /la ⁰ ‘dregs of fat’
k. xwan ²² 環 ‘hoop, ring’	xu ¹¹ lan ⁰ ‘an area centered around the speaker’
l. xwo ²² 和 ‘mix (powder) with water’	xu ²² lwo ⁰ ‘to sweep powder together with hand, broom, and etc’
m. t ^h wan ²² 團 ‘something shaped like a ball’	t ^h u ²² lwan ⁰ ‘messy things shaped like a ball’
n. xwa ²² 劃 ‘cut the surface on’	xu ²² la ⁰ ‘scratch, scribble’
o. kɣ ²¹³ 葛 ‘coarse cloth’	kɣ ²¹ lɣ ⁰ ‘bib; (livestock) should pad’
p. ɕwo ⁵⁵ 說 ‘say, speak’	ɕu ²¹ lwo ⁰ ‘rebuke; reproach’
q. k ^h əw ²¹³ 口 ‘mouth’	k ^h ɣ ²¹ ləw ⁰ ‘(usually) back area inside of shoe’
r. tɕjaw ⁵¹ 叫 ‘cry, shout’	tɕi ²¹ jaw ⁰ ‘cicada’

For all the instances in (1) the common phonological properties are as follows: the onset of the monosyllabic form corresponds to the first syllable of the disyllabic form, the rhyme of the monosyllabic form corresponds to the second syllable of the disyllabic form, and the second syllable consistently presents a liquid onset. (On the tonal discrepancies, see below.) In (1a), for instance, the onset of the monosyllable tɕ- can be

³ Both t^hwo⁵⁵ 拖 and po⁵⁵ 撥 (1g) take -a- as their main vowel in Middle Chinese.

found in the first syllable of the disyllable and the rhyme of the monosyllable *-iŋ* can be found in the second syllable of the disyllable. Moreover, the second syllable of the disyllable has the liquid onset *l-*. Such a correspondence between a monosyllable and a disyllabic form is commonly attested in many cases. Thus it can be seen that it must reflect some type of linguistic mechanism. Below are several theoretical hypotheses concerning this correspondence phenomenon.

We may, at first sight, presume that the correspondence of this kind might originate from consonant clusters of Old Chinese—the insertion of the schwa *-ə* between the two consonants such as **pl-*, **tl-*, **kl-*, **pr-*, **tr-*, and **kr-* could possibly cause the occurrence of a disyllabic form. To formulate this change, we have **CCVC* (monosyllable) > *CVCVC* (disyllable). This theory was firstly proposed by Boodberg (1937) and many scholars have followed him. Also some scholars have even taken this as evidence in favor of reconstructing consonant clusters in Old Chinese. There is every good reason to say that some disyllabic forms indeed resulted from the consonant cluster. For instance, *bǐ* 筆 **prət*⁴ (Li: **pljət*) has developed as *búlǜ* 不律 **pəʎ rwət* (Li: **pjəg bljət*) just because the schwa was inserted into the consonant cluster of the syllable **prət*. However, this dimidiation theory cannot be applied in most cases of this kind. The simple evidence for this argument is that most of the syllabic forms in question originally did not have a consonant cluster. For example, the forms *tʰwo*⁵⁵ and *xwo*²² (1d,l) can be traced back to **hwát* and **gwál* (Li: **rwat* and **gwar*) in Old Chinese, where we cannot find evidence of a consonant cluster. And the liquid *l-* in *tʰa*⁵⁵ *la*⁰ and *xu*²² *lwo*⁰ thus definitely could not be a residue of an Old Chinese sound. In addition, this dimidiation theory was established purely on a phonological basis and it failed to account for the semantic similarity and discrepancy between the monosyllabic form and the disyllabic form.

From a diachronic perspective, some scholars propose that the disyllabic forms already existed in ancient times. For instance, Sagart (1999) believed that *ka-lau?* in Xiamen 廈門 and *kA?lA?* in Pingyao 平遙 (both mean ‘fall down’) are residues of the sesquisyllable **^Akə-lak* of Old Chinese. It is true that the synchronic values could inform us of the diachronic development and these modern forms could be traced back to ancient times. However, even in ancient times it is still an issue that needs addressing, that is, we must explain how these disyllabic forms were produced. According to Liang (1982), in the Fuzhou 福州 dialect *ko*³¹ *lou?*⁵⁵ ‘fall’ derives from *kou?*⁵⁵ ‘slip’. Since *ka-lau?* in the Xiamen 廈門 dialect is much related to this disyllabic form and both dialects belong to Min, we can see that *ka-lau?* in the Xiamen 廈門 dialect should also have a corresponding monosyllabic origin. At any event, even if the modern disyllabic

⁴ Where necessary, the Old Chinese reconstruction forms, by Pulleyblank and Li Fang-kuei respectively, will be provided.

forms of this kind can be traced back to Old Chinese, the phenomenon still demands an explanation.

Explanations from a synchronic perspective are also diverse. Based on some examples, similar to those in (1), the Song scholar Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) came up with an explanation saying: 世人語音有以切腳而稱者，亦閒見於書史中 ‘In the language of contemporary people there are words formed in the way of “cutting foot”; some of them are also occasionally seen in historical texts.’ According to this understanding, the occurrence of these disyllabic forms seems to be simply because people wanted alternative expressions. This explanation is the same as the later account that these forms are originated from *fǎnqiè*. These explanations regard this language mechanism as a language game, ignore the grammatical motivation which triggers the occurrence of these disyllables, and therefore fail to catch the nature of this phenomenon.

In contrast to previous explanations, what Wang (1994) and Xing (2002) have advanced seems to get closer to the core of the issue. With the help of the model of reduplication with fixed melody in non-linear phonology, Wang believes that these disyllabic forms result from the mapping of the base rhyme onto an iambic foot of two syllables. This explanation is developed from the non-linear phonological theory and is quite enlightening. Nevertheless, what kind of semantic significance is involved in this process and how the phonological and grammatical components interact in the formation of these disyllabic forms still need to be further explored. As we know, reduplication is a kind of morphological mechanism which operates in a manner of repeating a form in order to express a new meaning. For example, in the Liqueun 體泉 dialect, the reduplication of a noun is conventionally employed to express a diminutive sense: *lu*⁴⁴ 路 ‘road’ → *lu*⁴⁴ *lu*⁰ ‘path’; *wǎn*⁵³ 碗 ‘bowl’ → *wǎn*²⁴ *wǎn*⁵³ ‘small bowl’; *fāŋ*²⁴ 房 ‘house’ → *fāŋ*²⁴ *fāŋ*⁵³ ‘shed’. This example shows us that identification of reduplicated forms depends on both semantic and phonological evidence – we not only need to identify the regulated formal alternation, but also need to identify the semantic significance involved in this phonological process.

Take *t^hwo*⁵⁵ 脫 and *tu*⁵⁵ *lwo*⁰ (1c) for instance. We find, by comparing the two forms, that all the segments of the monosyllable can be found in the disyllabic form: *t^h*- and *-wo* can be seen in both ends of the disyllabic form. The same melodic materials seen in the disyllabic form result from the preservation of the components of the monosyllable during a particular process, and it is most suitable to assume that this process is reduplication. Of course there are some segments in *tu*⁵⁵ *lwo*⁰ which are not seen in *t^hwo*⁵⁵, such as *-u* in the first syllable and *l-* in the second syllable, but this is not something damaging to the reduplication hypothesis. Re-examining the examples in (1), we can see that the segments unseen in the monosyllable are not something disorderly

and unsystematic; rather, they present a strong inherent agreement: the first rhyme presents a strong tendency to be simple, and the initial of the second syllable is consistently a liquid. Given that disyllabic forms with different meanings share the same phonological properties, it is natural to speculate that these forms are not possibly protomorphs. They are most likely to be predictable products of reduplication. Actually the investigation of living languages has shown that reduplication indeed can produce fixed segments. In the Tengxian 藤縣 dialect, for instance, the reduplication of an adjective can give rise to a fixed rhyme *-ɐŋ* (Deng 1995). In Yoruba, reduplication carrying progressive aspect can bring about a fixed high vowel: *gbé* ‘take’ → *gbí-gbé* ‘be taking’; *mu* ‘drink’ → *mí-mu* ‘be drinking’ (Pulleyblank 1988).

So far we have seen from the examples in (1) that all the segments of the monosyllable can be found in the corresponding disyllabic form and those unseen in the monosyllable are explainable. Therefore, there is every reason to believe these disyllabic forms result from reduplication. However, this case is phonologically and semantically different from total reduplication as seen in the Liquan 醴泉 dialect (see above). Also, it can be classified neither as retrogressive reduplication nor into progressive reduplication (Sun 1999). Moreover, the phonological alternation in this kind of reduplication can be characterized as the fission of one syllable into two syllables. Under such circumstances, reduplication of this kind should be otherwise named, and it is suitable to call it fission reduplication.

In addition to the phonological evidence, there is also semantic evidence in favor of this reduplication interpretation. In (1d) the two forms, *tʰwo⁵⁵* 拖 and *tʰa⁵⁵* *la⁰*, roughly share the meaning “to drag”, differing only in connotation. The disyllabic form stresses the physical aspect, and it usually refers to dragging the shoes without pulling up the heels, while *tʰwo⁵⁵* is a general term mainly denoting a type of activity in general. Thus, in contrast to the meaning of the monosyllable, that which is denoted by the disyllabic form can be regarded as a specialized meaning. This semantic contrast is likewise applicable to all the other examples in (1). In (1c), *tʰwo⁵⁵* means ‘take off (clothes)’, a general sense, while the corresponding disyllabic form *tu⁵⁵* *hwo⁰* means ‘(sleeves or trouser legs) hang down’, a special sense. Look at another example, (1f). As opposed to the normal meaning ‘circle’ of the monosyllabic word *tʃʰɿn⁵⁵*, that which the disyllabic form *tʃʰy⁵⁵* *ljɛn⁰* expresses is ‘(hair) curly’, a very special meaning.

After examining these examples, it becomes clear that the consistent semantic difference between the monosyllable and the disyllable can be identified as generalization and specialization; that is, the monosyllable expresses a general meaning while the disyllabic form expresses a special meaning. So far, we have seen that a regular phonological alternation carries a new meaning, and thus predictably there must be a common and characteristic morphological process involved in this phenomenon. It

is reasonable to identify it as fission reduplication.

Thus far, living examples have borne out the reality of fission reduplication. In addition to modern dialects, fission reduplication is also found in ancient Chinese. In discussing the historical origin of “A li AB”, Shi (2005) mentioned some fission reduplication examples such as *tɕy⁵⁵ ly⁵¹* and *ku³⁵ lu⁵¹* in Yuan.⁵ Old Chinese also possesses this morphological mechanism. Consider the examples in (2) below.

(2) Fission reduplication in Old Chinese (Sun 1999, 2004)

- a. *tóu* 頭 *dák ‘head’ → *dúlóu* 骷髏 *dák⁴ ráu ‘skull’
(Li: *dug → *duk lug)
- b. *biāo* 焔 *pjàw ‘strong wind’ → *fúyáo* 扶搖 *bàx lǎw ‘whirlwind’
(Li: *pjia^w → *bjag rag^w)
- c. *huò* 鑊 *wák ‘caldron’ → *húluò* 瓠落 *wáx rák ‘description of largeness in volume’
(Li: *g^wak → *g^wag lak)

These fission reduplication cases are highly consistent with respect to both morphology and phonology. From a morphological point of view, the semantic derivation from a monosyllabic base to a disyllabic fission reduplicated form can in all these cases be characterized as “specialization”. As far as the phonological components are concerned, the most significant characteristic attested in all these cases is that the original monosyllabic base is fissioned into two syllables. Thus the monosyllabic base can be restored by combining the onset of the first syllable with the rhyme of the second syllable in the corresponding fission reduplicated form. In addition, it is found that there are two kinds of phonological alternations that are common to all these cases: those realized in the onset of the second syllable and those in the rhyme of the first syllable. First, the liquid */- or */- always appears in the onset position of the second syllable in a fission reduplicated word. Second, a relatively simple rhyme occupies the rhyme position of the first syllable.

In the above discussion, we have seen many examples, from Old Chinese through modern dialects, whose semantic and phonological regularity convinced us that the proposal of fission reduplication is justified. Next, I will develop a generative theory of morpho-phonological interaction to account for the formation of this reduplication pattern.

⁵ Shi (2005) identifies this as dividing sounds to form new words.

3. The formation of fission reduplication

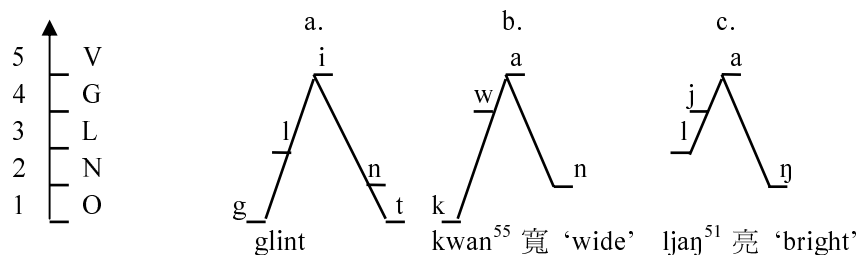
To advance a theoretical account for the formation of fission reduplication, we need to bring in two principles. One is language-specific and the other is cross-linguistic.

The first principle is called “One syllable/one meaning principle” (OOP; Sun 1999). This principle is based on the fact that in Chinese one morphemic meaning is generally denoted by just one syllable. In other words, Chinese basic vocabulary is monosyllabic in nature. This is a language-specific principle, which is applicable to Chinese.

The other principle is referred to as Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP). (Kenstowicz 1994) This is a cross-linguistic principle (or at least a “strong tendency”), which is applicable to all the languages in the world. The sonority of a sound refers to its loudness in relation to other sounds with the same length, stress, and pitch. For example, let us pronounce three sounds *a*, *l*, and *s*. By using the same amount of energy, the three sounds are produced. But their acoustic impressions left to us are quite different; that is, *a* is much louder than *s*. *l* is intermediate in loudness. So, in accordance with their loudness or sonority, speech sounds can be scaled according to the manner of degree and they are basically classified into 5 grades: vowel > glide > liquid > nasal > obstruent.

Now let us have a look at SSP. The SSP is actually a definition for syllable, which means that the sonority of a syllable increases from the beginning of the syllable up to the peak, and decreases from the peak to the coda. So, with respect to the sonority of its segments each syllable can be represented by a peak-shape. Let us take the English word “glint” and the Chinese words *kwan*⁵⁵ 寬 ‘wide’ and *ljan*⁵¹ 亮 ‘bright’ as examples.

(3) Sonority curve of syllable



These three diagrams vividly depict SSP. Take (3a) for instance. “Glint” is composed of five segments, among which the vowel *i* presents the highest sonority thus

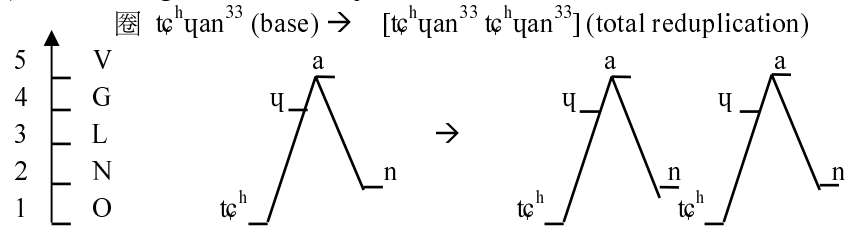
locating in the core position. Furthermore, the sonority of the front segment series “gli” increases while the sonority of the back segment series “int” declines. The same holds true for the other two (3b,c). The peak-shape representing the sonority curve conforms to people’s acoustic perception of syllables – even schoolchildren can count the number of syllables within a word just because they can discern sonority peaks. The application of SSP will help in exploring the internal structure of a syllable, predicting the development of a syllable and accounting for the alternation of segments within a syllable.

With these two principles, we can build a theoretical framework to account for how fission duplication is formed. Using concrete examples from the Chinese Xin’an 新安 dialect, the monosyllable $tɕ^h qan^{33}$ 圈 is a commonly-used form, meaning ‘circle’. In correspondence to this monosyllable, the disyllabic form $tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$ (also $tɕ^h y^{33} lqɛu^0$) is also very common and its use is diverse. Here are some instances. When a student gets a zero in an exam, he/she may say with humor “I have eaten a $tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$ (=circle = zero)”; a iron hoop, as a toy played by children, is called $tjɛ^{33} tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$ ($tjɛ^{33}$ means ‘iron’); after having been out for a walk, the person could say “I have just now walked for one $tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$ (taken a stroll)”. In comparing the monosyllabic form and the disyllabic form, we can see the meaning expressed by the latter is more concrete and special. As for the phonological contrast between them, what we can see is the same as seen in previous examples. All these characteristics meet the requirements for fission reduplication, and as a result, $tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$ should no doubt be classified into this reduplication category.

Now we will show the process of how the fission reduplication word $tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$ is formed. To get a form for a new special meaning, the Xin’an 新安 people start to work on the basis of the monosyllabic form $tɕ^h qan^{33}$ that has such a general meaning as ‘circle’, taking this as the base for further reduplication. In view of the significant phonological difference between $tɕ^h qan^{33}$ and $tɕ^h y^{33} lqan^0$, as well as the fact that total reduplication is the typical type of reduplication, we can claim that, at least from a theoretical point of view, fission reduplication is not a one-step process, and the first step should be total reduplication.⁶ In line with this, we have (4).

⁶ Cf. Steriade (1988) and Sun (1999).

(4) The first stage of fission reduplication



$tɕ^h ɣan^{33} tɕ^h ɣan^{33}$ is a reduplicated form, and by convention it seems appropriate to carry the new specialized meaning. Nevertheless, if this is the case, there will be a systematic conflict that the new form must face. As in many other dialects, the Xin'an 新安 dialect employs total reduplication to denote diminutive sense ('smallness') or distributive sense ('each'). Supposing the new specialized meaning is likewise conveyed by $tɕ^h ɣan^{33} tɕ^h ɣan^{33}$, then, this form will be confused with total reduplication. That is, $tɕ^h ɣan^{33} tɕ^h ɣan^{33}$ would convey such meanings as 'small circle' or 'every circle', instead of the new specialized meaning that people have expected.

At this juncture, one may doubt this argument, asking "is it true that one identical reduplication pattern could not possibly express different meanings?" This is not a simple yes/no question. Actually in a language/dialect one identical reduplication pattern could be possibly used to convey different meanings, but the strong tendency is that different meanings are more ideally conveyed by varying duplication forms. For example, total reduplication in standard Mandarin has phonological alternates depending on different meanings: "vividness" for an iambic foot with a high level tone in the second syllable, "tentative and diminutive" for a trochaic foot, and "distributive" for a quasi-iambic foot. Thus we can infer now that the meaning to be expressed is different from that of total reduplication, and its reduplicated form should be different too. In short, $tɕ^h ɣan^{33} tɕ^h ɣan^{33}$ requires phonological modification and the motivation for doing so comes from the reduplication system.

In addition, that $tɕ^h ɣan^{33} tɕ^h ɣan^{33}$ needs further phonological adjustment has a more important motivation arising from the interaction between morphology and phonology. As mentioned above, OOP requests that one syllable denote one meaning and that one meaning be denoted by one syllable. Nevertheless, reduplication inevitably results in two syllables expressing one meaning, and this violates OOP. So, some modification must take place in order to satisfy this principle. Expressing a meaning is the only purpose of this reduplication process, and thus this meaning cannot be modified or changed. Given this condition, the modification can only be achieved through the phonological component. As we know, the reduplication mechanism in Chinese must produce at least one more syllable. As such, OOP seems to have to be unexpectedly

violated, but understandably it should simultaneously be obeyed to as high a degree as possible. How could the Xin'an 新安 people come out of this awkward situation? The only recourse is to modify these two syllables, making them sound as much as possible like one syllable. In terms of sonority peak of syllable, this auditory impression can be made possible as long as the two syllable peaks look (actually, sound) like one syllable peak.

We may first want to try the possibility of cutting the two peaks short. Having the two peaks lower could blur the boundary between the two syllables, and subsequently should leave such an auditory impression that the two syllables sound like one. This is a good plan, but it cannot be realized. To make the peaks lower, the core vowel *a* needs to be replaced by a glide, liquid or a nasal. However, in northern Chinese dialects there are normally no commonly-used rhyme-like consonants available for that position. Besides, the change in speculation will obviously violate the faithfulness constraint. This kind of modification has to be ruled out.

Another kind of modification worth thinking about is to shorten the distance between the two peaks. The concrete way to achieve this is to cut off the back slope of the first peak. By doing so, the two peaks no doubt will get closer, and it will advance further in achieving the impression of one syllable. Besides, this method conforms ideally to phonological regulations. In Chinese dialects, both CVC and CV syllables are common. As such, cutting the back slope of the first peak is no more than changing CVC to CV, and of course it is acceptable. Thus it is understandable that the modification of this kind is widespread in many dialects. For instance, in the Shunping 順平 dialect the first syllable of the fission reduplication form loses its coda, two moras being reduced to one mora; in the Jin 晉 dialect the first syllable without exception becomes a short checked syllable. As for the typical example $tɕ^h yan^{33}$ $tɕ^h yan^{33}$, what actually happens to it is that the glide *ɥ* is realized as the core vowel *y*, and the original core vowel *a* and the ending *n* are both deleted. The phonological modification is quite complicated, but its objective is very direct and clear. That is, to shorten the distance between the two peaks in order to make one-syllable impression.

There is also another way to achieve a monosyllable-like impression, in which the valley between the two peaks is raised. Let us look at two sketch maps first: 1) ; 2) . The reason that the latter looks more like one peak is because the valley has been raised. By the same token, if the sonority valley between the two syllables gets raised, there will be likewise a monosyllable-like impression attained. Working in this direction, we can see the ending of the first syllable and the initial of the second syllable both require modification. Since the former has been already deleted, then, we will naturally focus on the latter. As seen in (4) above, this position is occupied by the voiceless obstruent $tɕ^h$. This consonant is the lowest sound in terms of sonority, and so

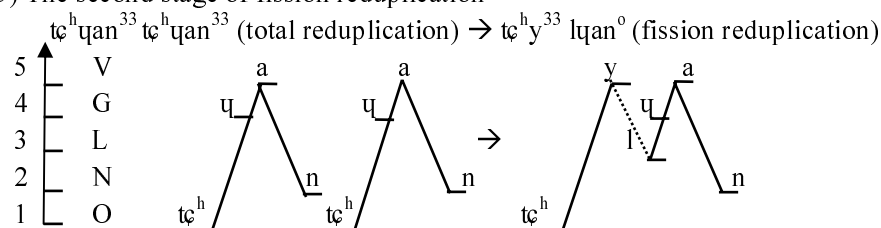
it is very effective in making a sharp distinction of one syllable from the other. This effect, as discussed above, seems to contrast with the attempt to blur the boundary between the two syllables. Under such circumstances, it is inevitable that this consonant t^h - undergoes some kind of adjustment. In view of the purpose of raising the valley, the replacement sound for t^h - should be one with higher sonority. The sounds such as nasal, liquid, glide and vowel are all higher than obstruents in sonority, and hence all of them are candidates. But there is only one candidate that will win.

Vowels have the highest sonority, but the initial position does not allow them, and this candidate is naturally ruled out. The sonority level of glides is very high, second only to vowels, and moreover glides are frequently used to serve as initials as in jan^{55} , wan^{55} and yan^{55} in Mandarin. So, a glide seems to be effective and practical in raising the sonority valley between the two syllables. Besides, as far as $t^h yan^{33}$ is concerned, with the deletion of the initial t^h -, the glide y could naturally become the initial. Given these facts, y would be definitely chosen in order to raise the valley. However this is not attested since the glide y is not a typical consonant and it is not ideal to serve as onset/initial. We have many kinds of supporting evidence for this judgment and here is one. In standard Mandarin the syllable $wən^{35}$ is normally articulated as $vən^{35}$ though v - is not listed in the consonant inventory of standard Mandarin. The reason of this alternation is because the glide w - is not a typical consonant and is not ideal to be used as onset. Thus we can predict the glide y would not be chosen in this natural competition.

We may also think of the possibility of emptying the onset position. By doing so, the valley would be raised to the greatest extent and the monosyllable-like impression will be achieved. But this hypothesis is not attested either, because it contradicts the cross-linguistic generalization which states that CV/CVC syllables are preferable to V/VC syllables. In Shunping 順平 Mandarin, for instance, the syllables such as ai^{51} 愛, an^{213} 俺 and $ɿ^{51}$ 餓 are actually articulated as nai^{51} , nan^{53} and $ɿɿ^{51}$ respectively. Syllables without onset are so unwelcome that they could not be chosen in natural competition.

Since vowels, glides and zero onsets are not suitable to serve as the initial of the second syllable, only nasals and liquids need to be considered. Unlike glides, both nasals and liquids are typical consonants and they are normally able to serve as onset. Besides, their sonority level is higher than that of obstruents and they will effectively raise the valley and blur the boundary of the two syllables. Which one, nasal or liquid, will be more suitable? The answer is certainly liquid since its sonority level is higher than that of nasals. Liquid is the winner, as shown in below.

(5) The second stage of fission reduplication



This scheme shows the phonological modification during the formation of fission reduplication. Since the liquid *l*- is the most sonorant consonant, accordingly it is chosen to replace *t\zeta^h*- in order to raise the valley and blur the boundary of the two syllables. As seen in the diagram, the liquid *l*- successfully raises the sonority level from grade 1 to grade 3. Together with the shorter distance between the two syllables resulting from the elimination of the back slope of the first syllable, phonological modification of this kind would definitely result in a monosyllable-like impression in acoustic perception. To people in Xin'an 新安, the disyllabic form $t\zeta^h y^{33} \text{lqan}^0$ is very suitable to denote such meanings as 'circle', 'hoop' or 'round trip (of a walk)'.

So far, we have taken the Xin'an 新安 dialect as an example, to explore the generative process of fission reduplication – it is morpho-phonological interaction that results in the occurrence of fission reduplication. Owing to iconicity, people choose reduplication to express a special meaning as opposed to a general meaning denoted by the monosyllabic base. On the other hand, because of OOP, the reduplicated form needs to be phonologically modified, in order that the disyllabic form sounds like one syllable. The direction of this modification is guided by cross-linguistic principles and dominated by Chinese language-specific principles. Consequently, the first syllable is shortened and the onset of the second syllable is consistently realized as a liquid. As such, a new reduplication pattern, fission reduplication, arises.

4. The similarity and discrepancy of fission reduplication across dialects

Fission reduplication is seen in both ancient Chinese and the modern dialects. It presents an inherent consistency in terms of phonological form and grammatical/semantic function. Nevertheless, we need to note that the variations on this pattern might be found in history and in different dialectal areas. In view of this, fission reduplication can be classified into three subcategories. The main criterion for this classification is the manner of modification of the rhymes of a fission reduplication word.

4.1 Faithful type of fission reduplication

In this type of fission reduplication, besides the common phonological modification seen in all examples of fission reduplication, extra modifications take place in the first rhyme. These modifications, as pointed out above, are motivated by the simplification tendency. Let us examine some examples found in fission reduplication in Fuzhou 福州.

(6) Fission reduplication in the Fuzhou 福州 dialect (Cf. Liang 1982)⁷

Base	fission reduplication
a. hiaŋ ²¹³ □	hia ¹¹ liaŋ ²¹³ ‘about to fall’
b. pieu ⁵⁵ 森	pie ³¹ lieu ⁵⁵ ‘spray’
c. pieu ²¹³ □	pie ¹¹ lieu ²¹³ ‘emit, send up’
d. kouŋ ⁵⁵ 滑	ko ³¹ louŋ ⁵⁵ ‘fall’
e. ts ^h uoŋ ⁵⁵ □	ts ^h uo ³¹ luoŋ ⁵⁵ ‘give a start’
f. teu ³¹ 抖	te ³¹ leu ³¹ ‘droop, hang down’
g. k ^h uaŋ ⁵³ □	k ^h ua ³¹ luaŋ ⁵³ ‘take a circuitous rout’
h. løyŋ ⁵⁵ 窿	lø ³¹ løyŋ ⁵⁵ ‘hollow and ventilated’
i. høyŋ ¹³ 拂	hy ¹¹ (hø ¹¹) løyŋ ¹³ ‘sob’
j. kei ²¹³ □	ki ¹¹ lei ²¹³ ‘infant cry’
k. k ^h uŋ ³¹ □	k ^h u ³¹ luŋ ⁵³ ‘whole bundle’

Let us take (6a) as an example. In line with the above analysis of the example in the Xin'an 新安 dialect, the modification happening in this example can be illustrated as follows:

↓	hiaŋ ²¹³	(base)
	hiaŋ ²¹³ hiaŋ ²¹³	(total reduplication—first stage of fission reduplication)
↓	hia ¹¹ liaŋ ²¹³	(fission reduplication)

Comparing *-iaŋ²¹³* (rhyme of the base) with *-ia¹¹* (first rhyme of the binom), we can see there are significant changes taking place, but the reduplicated form does not differ greatly from the original form. First of all, we see the main vowel changes from *-a-* to *-ä-*. This change just obeys the regulated alternation in this dialect: if the main vowel in the base form is a lax one, then it will change to the corresponding tense one in the first

⁷ Liang (1982) did not always give the meaning of the base form. But she said (personal communication) the disyllabic form expresses a more vivid sense, as opposed to that of the monosyllabic form.

syllable of the fission reduplicated form. *-a-* and *-a-* form such a pair. As for the tone, we see it changes from 213 to 11, and this is also a regulated alternation during fission reduplication. In this dialect, the surface tone for the first syllable is dependent on the tone of the base syllable, which can be generalized as follows: 55, 53, 31 and 55 change to 31; 213, 353 and 13 change to 11. Thus we can see the change of 213 to 11 in (6a) is just a case of faithfulness. Making the most faithful preservation of the original value in the reduplicative form is the distinctive characteristic in the Fuzhou 福州 dialect.

Fission reduplication of this subtype is not common in modern dialects. However, fission reduplication in Old Chinese can be classified into this subcategory. In Old Chinese fission reduplication, in addition to fixed liquid **l-/*r-* in the second syllable, the most significant change happening in the first rhyme can be generalized as “identity avoidance at minimum”. This means the first rhyme must be modified but the modification must be minimized. Let us illustrate this point by examining two examples below.

(7) Modification in Old Chinese fission reduplication (Sun 1999, 2004)

		Li's OC	Pulleyblank's OC	Glossary
a. Base:	头	*dug	*dáq	‘head’
Fission redupl.:	髑髅	*duk lug	*dák ^q ráq	‘skull’
b. Base:	茨	*dzjid	*dzəj	‘thatch’
Fission redupl.:	蒺藜	*dzit ljid	*dzək ^j rəj	‘puncture vine’

In (7a), the modification is found in the first syllable of the binom, in which the original **-g* is surfaced as **-k*, in accordance with Li's reconstruction. According to Pulleyblank's reconstruction, this change is represented as **-ŋ* to **-k^q*. No matter which reconstruction we follow, the basic distinction between the base ending and the reduplicant ending can be generalized as a minimum change. The same holds true for (7b), in which the change is **-d* to **-t* in Li's OC, and **-j* to **-k^j* in Pulleyblank's OC. The minimum change implies that the two sounds are still very close, and thus we can see the modification is indeed achieved in following the criterion of maintaining the base value as much as possible. In short, fission reduplication in both Old Chinese and the Fuzhou 福州 dialect undergoes the same kind of phonological modification, and accordingly fission reduplication in these two languages should be classified into the same subcategory.

4.2 Fixed rhyme type of fission reduplication

In some cases of fission reduplication, no matter what rhyme the base syllable has,

the reduplicant rhyme is always a form ending with a glottal stop $-ʔ$. This subtype of fission reduplication is mostly found in Jin 晉 dialects.

(8) Fission reduplication in the Pingyao 平遙 dialect (Cf. Hou 1989)

- a. $pæ^{53}$ 摆 ‘swing’ $\rightarrow p\Lambda\gamma^{54} l\Lambda^{53}$ ‘swing’
- b. pi^{53} (tsk $\Lambda\gamma^{23}$) 秕 (子) ‘blighted grain’ $\rightarrow p\Lambda\gamma^{54} li^{53}$ (ts $\Lambda\gamma^{23}$) ‘blighted grain’
- c. $t\epsilon io^{13}$ 翘 ‘stick up’ $\rightarrow k\Lambda\gamma^{54} li\epsilon^{13}$ ‘lift up (one’s leg)’
- d. $k\epsilon\eta^{53}$ 埂 ‘low bank of earth between fields’ $\rightarrow k\Lambda\gamma^{54} l\epsilon\eta^{53}$ ‘slope between terraced fields’

(9) Fission reduplication in the Yimeng 伊盟 dialect (Cf. Li 1991)

- a. $p\epsilon n^{23}$ 奔 ‘gallop’ $\rightarrow p\epsilon\gamma^{21} l\epsilon n^{23}$ ‘gallop’
- b. $p\epsilon n^{53}$ 笨 ‘fool’ $\rightarrow p\epsilon\gamma^{21} l\epsilon n^{53}$ ‘fool’
- c. $p\epsilon\eta^{53}$ 棒 ‘stick’ $\rightarrow p\epsilon\gamma^{21} l\epsilon\eta^{53}$ ‘stick’
- d. $p‘au^{44}$ 刨 ‘dig’ $\rightarrow p‘\epsilon\gamma^{21} lau^{44}$ ‘dig’
- e. $p‘an^{44}$ 盘 ‘dish’ $\rightarrow p‘\epsilon\gamma^{21} lan^{44}$ ‘dish’
- f. $ta\gamma^{21}$ 搭 ‘droop’ $\rightarrow t\epsilon\gamma^{21} la^{23}$ ‘droop’

(10) Fission reduplication in the Shenmu 神木 dialect (Cf. Xing 2002)

- a. $p\epsilon^{53}$ 绊 ‘stumble’ $\rightarrow p\epsilon\gamma^{4} l\epsilon^{53}$ ‘stumble’
- b. pE^{213} 摆 ‘swing’ $\rightarrow p\epsilon\gamma^{4} lE^{21}$ ‘swing’
- c. $t\epsilon u^{44}$ 头 ‘head’ $\rightarrow t\epsilon\gamma^{2} l\epsilon^{24}$ ‘head’
- d. $ti\epsilon^{53}$ 掉 ‘fall’ $\rightarrow ti\epsilon\gamma^{4} li\epsilon^{53}$ ‘fall’
- e. xa^{44} 匣 ‘small box’ $\rightarrow x\epsilon\gamma^{4} la^{44}$ ‘small box’

In contrast to the Fuzhou 福州 case, a prominent characteristic shared by the above examples (8-10) is that their first rhymes are always realized as $-əʔ$ or $-Aʔ$, regardless of the values of the base syllable. This fixed rhyme arises from the effect of OOP. As discussed above, OOP forces the two syllables to come close to each other in order to achieve the effect that the two syllables sound like one. In Chinese dialects, checked syllables are always described as relatively short and sharp. Hence checked syllables such as $-əʔ$ or $-Aʔ$, used in the first rhyme, will no doubt bring the two syllables closer, leaving a monosyllable-like impression in pronunciation. On the other hand, all checked syllables in Jin 晉 dialects end with $-ʔ$, and consequently, it is very natural to choose $-əʔ$ or $-Aʔ$ as the first rhyme.

Jin 晉 dialects present a unique characteristic regarding the modification of the first rhyme during fission reduplication, which is not seen in other dialects. However, we can find an analogue for it in history. As mentioned above, fission reduplication is also attested in Middle Chinese. Looking at the first syllables of those particular disyllabic forms in Hong Mai’s 洪邁 *Rongzhai suibi* [容齋隨筆], we find they are

mostly checked syllables.

(11) Fission reduplication forms in Song (960-1279)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| a. gǔlù 骨露 LMC ⁸ kut luəʔ | b. qūluán 屈牽 LMC k ^h yt lyən |
| c. tūluán 突栳 LMC tʰiut lawn | d. jíling 即零 LMC tsiak liaŋ |
| e. kūluò 仵落 LMC k ^h ut lak | f. bólan 勃蘭 LMC pʰiut lan |
| g. bùláng 步廊 LMC pʰuaʔ lan | h. tūluò 突落 LMC tʰiut lak |

For each item, the modern pronunciation comes first, followed by the Chinese characters and the LMC pronunciation. Now let us focus on the first syllables, which are all checked syllables. We first need to assign them appropriate reconstructed forms. Since these forms are found to be used in the central areas of Song, Kaifeng 開封 and Luoyang 洛陽, it is suitable to apply the Kaifeng 開封 and Luoyang's 洛陽 phonological systems to these forms.

According to Zhou (1943), Shao Yong's 邵雍 (1011-1077) *Huangji jingshi shengyin changhetu* [皇極經世聲音唱和圖] represents the standard phonological system of Song and thus we should work on the basis of this to get the relevant phonological information. In early rhyme tables such as *Yunjing* [韻鏡], the rhymes with a nasal ending and the rhymes with an obstruent stop ending are arranged in one table. This is understandable because nasal endings *-m*, *-n* and *-ŋ* correspond to *-p*, *-t*, and *-k*. However, in Shao Yong's tables, the rhymes with *-m* and *-p* are still arranged in the same table, but the rhymes originally ending with *-t* or *-k* are nevertheless moved into the tables where rhymes with a glide ending or a zero ending are mostly located. Based on such special arrangements of rhymes, Zhou came to such a conclusion that the endings *-t* and *-k* no longer existed in Kaifeng 開封 and Luoyang's 洛陽 phonological systems. However, since *-p* still existed at that time, we can imagine *-t* and *-k* would not be lost completely. During the development of checked syllables into open syllables over Chinese phonological history, *-p*, *-t*, and *-k* were not lost all at once, and instead, they underwent a stage of neutralization into *-ʔ*, as we can see now in Taiyuan 太原, Yangzhou 揚州 and Suzhou 蘇州. Given these facts, the first syllables in those Northern Song fission reduplicated forms then should be reconstructed as follows.

⁸ LMC is short for Later Middle Chinese. See Pulleyblank (1991).

(12) The first syllables of fission reduplication forms in Song

the 1 st σ	LMC	Standard language of North Song
gǔ 骨	Kut	ku?
qū 屈	k ^h yt	k ^h y?
tū 突	tʰut	tʰu?
jí 即	tsiak	tsi?
bó 勃	pʰut	pʰɔ?
kū 伧	k ^h ut	k ^h u?
bù 步	pʰuaʔ	pʰuʔ

Except for the last one, all other characters are checked syllables with the ending -ʔ. This is to say that the fission reduplication forms in Northern Song are all the same as those in Jin 晉 dialects.

4.3 Trochaic type of fission reduplication

In comparison with the faithful type and fixed rhyme type, the outstanding features of the trochaic type of fission reduplication can be characterized in two aspects. First, the first syllable consistently presents a single vowel as the rhyme, regardless of whether there is a coda or not in the base syllable. Second, the second syllable always has a neutral tone. Fission reduplication of this type is widely distributing in northern dialects. Look at the following examples.

(13) Fission reduplication in the Xin'an 新安 dialect

Base	Fission reduplication form
a. kaw ³³ 膏 'grease'	kə ³³ law ⁰ 'scabies'
b. kəw ⁴¹² 够 'enough'	kə ⁵³ ləw ⁰ 'kind of big bowl'
c. kəŋ ⁵³ 埂 'a low bank of earth between fields'	kə ⁵³ liŋ ⁰ /lin ⁰ 'slop between terraced fields' kə ⁵³ ljəw ⁰ 'small ridge on the surface of things'
d. tsa ⁴¹² 雜 'miscellaneous'	tsa ⁵³ la ⁰ 'tripes and chitterlings'
e. tɕjaw ⁵³ 攪 'stir'	kə ³³ law ⁰ 'stir'
f. k ^h uŋ ⁵³ 孔 'hole'	k ^h u ⁵³ luŋ ⁰ 'hole, cavity'
g. k ^h ə ³³ 窠 'nest, burrow'	k ^h ə ³³ ləw ⁰ 'foundation work of a house done with a uncompleted walls'

Unlike those in Fuzhou 福州 and Jin 晉, fission reduplication forms in Xin'an 新安 undergo significant modification of rhymes, realizing ə, a or u for the first rhyme

and neutral tone for the second. Thus the disyllabic form becomes trochaic.

Focusing on the tone, we find that some fission reduplicated forms present a polarity alternation, that is, the first syllable has a rising tone and the second a falling tone. Look at examples in (14).

(14) Fission reduplication in the Liquan 醴泉 dialect

Base	Fission reduplication form
a. xwǣ ⁴⁴ 喚 ‘call’	xwǣ ⁴⁴ lwǣ ⁰ ‘cry, summon’
b. tsa ²¹ 渣 ‘dregs’	tsɿ ²¹ la ⁰ ‘fat dregs’
c. tɕ ^h uǣ ²¹ 圈 ‘circle’	(ŋjow ²⁴ ‘cow’ meaning ‘big’ here) tɕ ^h y ²¹ luǣ ⁰ ‘circle-shape steamed bun for the celebration for a baby’s 100 th day’
d. p ^h a ²⁴ 耙 ‘rake up’	p ^h u ²⁴ la ⁰ ‘rake up recklessly’
e. kow ²¹ 鉤 ‘to hook’	kɤ ²⁴ ləw ⁵³ ‘pull something down by using hook’
f. k ^h ow ²¹ 口 ‘mouth’	k ^h ɤ ²⁴ ləw ⁵³ ‘pit’
g. woj ⁴⁴ 瓮 ‘big jar’	wu ²⁴ luŋ ⁵³ ‘bind a broken jar with rope’
h. p ^h ǣ ²⁴ 盤 ‘plate’	p ^h u ²⁴ lwǣ ⁵³ ‘round bamboo container for food’

The first four examples are the same as those in Shunping 順平 (see (1) above) and Xin’an 新安 (see (13) above), presenting a trochaic disyllabic form. The latter four examples nevertheless present a polarity tonal pattern, regardless of the base tone value. For example, in (14e,f), both reduplication forms present a rising tone 24 for the first syllable and a falling tone 53 for the second, and these tone values have nothing to do with the tone of the base forms. The same holds true in (14g, h), where the polarity alternation is attested though their base forms have a level tone and rising tone respectively. Polarity alternation is different from trochaic alternation. But, because both kinds of tonal alternations can be regarded as fixed and they co-exist in the same dialect, we may deal with them jointly.

In section 3 above, I argued that the formation of fission reduplication is actually determined by OOP. Now I will show that the tonal alternations seen in (13) and (14) are likewise determined by OOP. Simply speaking, OOP triggers such tonal modifications so as to make a disyllabic form sound like one syllable. This argument can be supported by the following facts. In Mandarin the stress pattern of a disyllabic word is usually quasi-iambic.⁹ But, if a disyllabic word takes the suffix, *zǐ* 子, *ér* 兒 or *tóu* 頭, as the second component, or if a disyllabic word is a gestalt word,¹⁰ then, its

⁹ Cf. Lin and Wang (1992).

¹⁰ I understand “gestalt word” as a word that is not easy to be decomposed in meaning and that is usually memorized as a whole by the language community. Packard (2000) wrote a chapter

stress pattern will be trochaic. Now let us consider the semantic component. As we know, a suffix always denotes something grammatical, and thus, what the disyllabic word with a suffix denotes can be regarded as just one semantic meaning. As for a gestalt word, since it is hard to be semantically decomposed, what it denotes thus can also be regarded as one meaning. The facts discovered here are significant. On the one hand, each of such disyllabic words denotes an undecomposed (or hardly-decomposed) meaning, and on the other hand, these words fall in the trochaic stress pattern. In view of the effect of OOP, then, we can see it is OOP that forces the disyllabic words to be trochaic -- when a disyllabic form is unavoidably used as a vehicle for one meaning, this disyllabic form tends to become trochaic in order to show its obedience to OOP. By the same token, for the fission reduplication forms in Shunping 順平, Xin'an 新安 and Liquan 醴泉 (see (1, 13 and 14) above), why a trochee arises after a series of modifications is just because there is only one undecomposed meaning that needs to be signified by this disyllabic form.

In (14e-h), regardless of the tonal value of the base syllable, these disyllabic words present a polarity tonal pattern. Why this fixed tonal pattern could be applied in fission reduplication is explainable. It first needs to be noted that these two adjacent tones tend to be polar in terms of tone pitch as long as unspecified. Chinese is a tonal language and its syllables possess one tone. But in the case of fission reduplication the two syllables carry only one meaning, and there is no way to assign a meaningful tone to each syllable of the disyllabic form. Under such circumstances, these two adjacent tones are more easily subject to such a common tone sandhi as polarity. Thus we can see the polarity tone sandhi is the same as the occurrence of the trochaic pattern, and both kinds of modifications have shown the further development of fission reduplication in the northern dialects.

4.4 Summary

In the above discussion in this section, I have divided fission reduplication in modern Chinese dialects into three subtypes, on the basis of different modifications of the rhyme. In the case of Fuzhou 福州, the rhyme of the first syllable is modified in some way as to fully reflect the base values. This is the same as what we can find in Old Chinese. Thus it provides a piece of new evidence for the long-held view that the Fuzhou 福州 dialect diverged from mainstream Chinese a long time ago. In the Jin 晉 dialect, the first syllable presents a fixed checked syllable, regardless of the base value. This can be traced back to the standard Chinese in Song. The fact that the Jin 晉 dialect

entitled "Gestalt Chinese Words", exclusively discussing this subject.

and Song Chinese operate fission reduplication in the same manner makes us believe it is reasonable for some scholars, as they have, to treat Jin 晉 as an independent dialect, parallel to other Chinese dialects such as Mandarin, Yue 粵 and Min 閩. The significant characteristic attested in the northern dialects is the occurrence of the trochaic pattern and the polarity tone sandhi. This represents a new development of fission reduplication.

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現代漢語方言中的裂變重疊

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裂變重疊普遍存在於現代漢語方言。基於田野調查所得第一手材料，我們看到，這一形態構詞過程在形式上表現為一個單音節基式裂變為兩個音節，在意義上則表現為“特殊義”的產生。裂變重疊在不同方言中有不同的表現，據此可進一步細分為三個次類，即忠誠型、固定韻母型、揚抑型。客觀描寫之外，本文還在特定語言規則以及普遍語法規則的基礎之上初步建構了一個音義互動的理論框架以說明裂變重疊的生成過程。

關鍵詞：重疊，音義互動，音節劃分，方言

Miin Animal Body Parts

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1. Introduction

The present note is an exploration of a small set of the Miin lexicon – animal body parts. Some of these terms are phonologically quite straightforward; others present interesting semantic and phonological problems. This study will be principally based on the following documented dialects: Fwujou 福州 (Feng 1998), Shiahmen 廈門 (Jou 1993, Douglas 1899), Chaurjou 潮州 (Tsay 1976—Tsay's work is based on the dialect of Jieyang 揭陽), Jangpyng 漳平 (Jang 1992), Jiann'ou 建甌 (Lii and Pan 1998), Jiannyang 建陽 (Norman 1969, supplemented by the author's field notes), Jennchyan (Norman 1996, supplemented by the author's field notes); in addition forms from Miindong 閩東 dialect of Muhyang 穆陽 are cited from personal field notes made in 1971 in Tairbeei; Muhyang is very similar to the Fwuan 福安 material found in the Spanish-Fwuan dictionary of Ibañez (1941-1943).

There is much overlap among human body parts and those of animals. For the most part I limit myself to body parts associated only with animals – mammals, birds and fish. The exceptions are FUR/FEATHER and MEAT. Both are as commonly associated with animals as with humans and both illustrate interesting phonological traits.

Miin dialects can broadly be divided into Eastern Miin (EM) and Western Miin (WM). Eastern Miin can be further divided into Northeastern Miin (NEM) and Southern Miin (SM).

Reconstructions are given in a revised version of earlier attempts (Norman 1973, 1974, 1981).

2. Mammal body parts

2.1 FUR/FEATHER Common Miin (CM) **mhɔ*² [毛]

As in many Chinese dialects, the words for FUR and FEATHER are not

distinguished. The same form is also used for human body hair and in some cases for hair on the head as well (e.g. Chaurjou *thau*² *mɿ*² ‘hair of the head’).

NEM	Muhyang <i>mɿ</i> ² , Fwujou <i>mo</i> ² , Fwuching <i>mo</i> ²
SM	Shiahmen <i>mŋ</i> ² , Jangpyng <i>muã</i> ² , Chaurjou <i>mō</i> ²
WM	Jiann’ou <i>mau</i> ⁵ , Jiannyang <i>mau</i> ² , Jennchyan <i>mo</i> ²

Several comments can be made about the phonology of this word. In Norman (1973) I proposed that Common Miin had two series of nasals and two laterals:

Series I	m	n	l	ŋ
Series II	mh	nh	lh	ŋh

This distinction is based on two kinds of evidence. In some far western Miin dialects like Shawwu 邵武 and Jiangleh 將樂 series two words have upper register tones. The two series also leave traces in SM dialects like Shiahmen and Chaurjou; in these dialects initial nasals devoice before oral finals: CM **ma*³ HORSE > Shiahmen *be*³. If, however, the initial was a CM series II initial, there is a tendency, strongest in the Chaurjou dialects, for nasalization to be retained: CM **mha*² ‘sesame’ > Chaurjou *muã*². In case of CM **nh* and **ŋh* SM dialects regularly have *h* before high front vowels: CM **ŋhi*⁴ ‘ant’ > Shiahmen *hi*⁶, Chaurjou *hi*⁴. In the case of CM **lh*, the WM dialects have initial *s*- where EM dialects have *l*-.

The word for FUR/FEATHER has a CM initial **mh*. This is indicated by tonal reflexes in Shawwu *mau*⁷ and Jiangleh *mo*⁹. (Note that Jiangleh tonal category nine contains many *inru* 陰入 words as well as words from other categories.) Meishiann 梅縣 *mau*¹ (Hwang 1995) also exhibits an upper-register nasal. SM dialects also show apparently irregular nasalization.

The evidence for series two initials contains an apparent contradiction. Tones in the far western Miin dialects, as well as Hakka dialects like Meishiann, suggest a voiceless nasal, the other Miin dialects have lower register tones in the relevant forms. That two series of nasals are required for Common Miin is clear, but the exact nature of the distinction is not so clear. The first task of comparison is to establish what contrasts exist in the protolanguage; the question of the phonological nature of the contrasting elements, while significant, is secondary. My own guess in this case is that the series two sonorants were in some sense voiceless (or at least contained a voiceless component). This interpretation is supported by evidence in Hakka dialects (Norman 1991).

2.2 TAIL CM **mue*³ [尾]

NEM	Muhyang <i>mui</i> ³ , Fwujou <i>mui</i> ³ , Fwuching <i>mui</i> ³
SM	Shiahmen <i>be</i> ³ , Jangpyng <i>bie</i> ³ , Chaurjou <i>bue</i> ³
WM	Jiann'ou <i>mye</i> ³ , Jiannyang <i>mui</i> ³ , Jennchyan <i>mue</i> ³

TAIL provides a good example of CM **m*. Since Common Miin distinguishes an upper and lower *shang* 上 tone, why isn't TAIL assigned to CM **mh*? The behavior of the two sonorant series in the *shang* tonal category is very interesting. In the far western dialect of Herpyng 和平, which is very similar to Shawwu, there is a clear distinction between the upper and lower *shang* tones (Norman 1995). Below the Herpyng reflexes for the four CM tones are shown, here designated A (平), B (上), C (去) and D (入).

	A	B	C	D
Series I	2	4	6	4
Series II	7	3	5	7

The two tonal series are separated very regularly. Note that in Shawwu there is no tonal distinction in tone B: both become tone three. Based on the Herpyng form *mui*?⁴, TAIL should belong to series one. Meishiann *mi*¹ confirms this claim since in Hakka dialects lower *shang* words become tone one (Norman 1991).

2.3 HORN CM **kok*⁷ [角]

NEM	Muhyang <i>kæk</i> ⁷ , Fwujou <i>kɔŋ</i> ⁷ , Fwuching <i>kø</i> ⁷
SM	Shiahmen <i>kak</i> ⁷ , Jangpyng <i>kak</i> ⁷ , Chaurjou <i>kak</i> ⁷
WM	Jiann'ou <i>ku</i> ⁷ , Jiannyang <i>ko</i> ⁷ , Jennchyan <i>ku</i> ³

HORN is a good example of the Miin treatment of words in the 江/覺 rimes of the *Chiehyunn* 切韻. Whereas in other Chinese dialect groups such words formed a special category that ultimately merged either with 唐/鐸 or 陽/藥, in Miin dialects they preserve a distribution like that of Old Chinese in which most 江/覺 words are linked to words in 東/屋.

2.4 FAT/LARD CM **gɔ*¹ [膏]

EM dialects for the most part use 油 *you* in the sense of 'animal fat', WM dialects have forms related to 膏 *gau* 'animal fat, lard'. In a few Miin dialects we have forms

with initial *l*:- Yeongan 永安 *liu*², Jiangleh *lo*²; while these two forms seem to be related, the finals do not reflect a regular pattern. The relevant WM forms are as follows:

WM Jiann'ou *kau*^{3,5}, Jiannyang *au*⁹; cf. Shyrbei 石陂 *gɔ*⁹, Herpyng *ho*⁴

2.5 FLESH/MEAT CM **nhuk* [肉]

NEM Muhyang *nøk*⁸, Fwujou *ny*⁸, Fwuching *ny*⁸
 SM Chaurjou *nək*⁸; cf. Haekang 海康 *hip*⁸ (Lin and Chern 1996; Douglas 1899 gives a Chin-chew form *hek*⁸.¹)
 WM Jiann'ou *ny*⁴, Jiannyang *ny*⁸, Jennchyan *ny*⁵

The far western Miin dialects show upper register tones for FLESH/MEAT: Shawwuu *ɲy*⁷, Herpyng *ny*⁷. The series two initial is also indicated by the Chaurjou, Haekang and Chin-chew forms cited above. Cf. also Meishiann *ɲiuk*⁷.

3. Bird body parts

3.1 WING CM **sit*⁸ [翼] ~ **siap*⁸ [?]

There are two possibly related forms. For **sit*⁸ we can cite the following forms:

Fwujou *si*⁸, Fwuching *si*⁸, Shiahmen *sit*⁸, Jangpyng *sit*⁸, Chaurjou *sek*⁸

CM **siap*⁸ are based on the following; note that in some WM dialects the corresponding forms mean FIN and not WING.

Muhyang *siɛp*⁸, Jiann'ou *siɛ*⁶ (WING, FIN), Jiannyang *sia*⁸ (FIN),
 Jennchyan
*sie*⁶ (WING, FIN)

Many WM dialects have another word for WING: Jiannyang *khe*⁷, Shawwuu *khie*⁷, Herpyng *khie*⁷; cf. also Chorngan 崇安 *khie*⁷, Shyrbei *khe*⁷. These forms may be related to *Chieh-yunn* 脅 (虛業切) 'flank, side of the body'.

¹ Haekang is another dialect of the Chaurjou region. Shiahmen and Jangpyng use another word for MEAT/FLESH.

3.2 EGG CM **lhən*⁴ [卵]

The series two lateral is indicated by the WM forms having initial *s*-. Herpyng has tone three in this word, showing also that the initial belongs to series two.

NEM	Muhyang <i>lhən</i> ⁶ , Fwujou <i>lauŋ</i> ⁶ , Fwuching <i>loŋ</i> ⁶
SM	Shiahmen <i>nŋ</i> ⁶ , Jangpyng <i>loŋ</i> ⁶ , Chaurjou <i>nŋ</i> ⁶
WM	Jiann'ou <i>soŋ</i> ⁶ , Jiannyang <i>suŋ</i> ⁵ , Jennchyan <i>sueŋ</i> ⁶

3.3 CRAW CM **k(u)əi*¹ [?]

The NEM dialects have *kaikoou* 開口 forms where the other dialects all have *herkoou* 合口 forms.

NEM	Muhyang <i>kai</i> ¹ (Ibañez), Fwujou <i>kai</i> ¹ , Fwuching <i>koi</i> ¹
SM	Shiahmen <i>kui</i> ¹ , Chaurjou <i>kui</i> ¹
WM	Jiann'ou <i>ko</i> ¹ , Jiannyang <i>kui</i> ¹ ; cf. Shyrbei <i>ko</i> ¹

The etymology of these forms is obscure.

3.4 CREST/COMB CM **kəi*⁵ [冠]

The etymology of this word has hitherto been unresolved. Some dialectologists have attempted to link it to 髻, but this seems quite unlikely from a phonological point of view. Another possibility will be discussed below.

NEM	Muhyang <i>kui</i> ⁵ , Fwujou <i>kui</i> ⁵ , Fwuching <i>kuoi</i> ⁵
SM	Shiahmen <i>ke</i> ⁵ , Chaurjou <i>kue</i> ⁵
WM	Jiann'ou <i>ko</i> ⁵ , Jiannyang <i>kui</i> ⁵ , Jennchyan <i>kue</i> ⁵

CM **kəi*⁵ belongs to the same final correspondent set as 火 **xəi*³:

	Fwujou	Shiahmen	Chaurjou	Jiann'ou
* <i>xəi</i> ³	hui ³	he ³	hue ³	xo ³
* <i>kəi</i> ⁵	kui ⁵	ke ⁵	kue ⁵	ko ⁵

Most words having this final come from the Old Chinese *gebuh* 歌部. What I would like to propose is that the Miin word for CREST/COMB should be linked to 冠

HAT/COCK'S-COMB. An obvious objection is that 冠 ends in *-n* whereas the Miin forms do not, but there is another example of a similar loss of final *-n* that is very similar; this is word for SHORT, CM **tɔi*³ which in Early Chinese must have been something like **'ton?*. We may suppose that in some cases words having an earlier final *-n* lost their final nasal and moved into *gebuh*. Compare the reflexes of SHORT with those of CREST/COMB:

	Fwujou	Shiahmen	Chaurjou	Jiann'ou
*tɔi ³	tøy ³	te ³	to ³	to ³
*kɔi ⁵	kui ⁵	ke ⁵	kue ⁵	ko ⁵

Here the Fwujou and Chaurjou discrepancies in final are due to the influence of different types of initials. A further problem is tone. Although the *Chiehyunn* records both a *pyng* 平 and *chiuh* 去 tone for 冠, the latter reading is usually associated with a verbal sense. However, the tonal variants in rimebooks do not always correspond precisely with dialect forms. For example, the character 乞 *chii* has two readings in the *Jyiyunn* 集韻, 丘既切 (*khjəi-*) and 期訖切 (*khjət*). For the *chiuh* tone reading the gloss is 與 'give'; the gloss for the *ruh* 入 tone reading is 取 'take, accept'. Yet in the Fwujou dialect it is the *ruh* tone reading that means 'give': *khøy?*⁷. Perhaps we have a similar tonal discrepancy in the case of 冠.

3.5 GIZZARD CM **gin*⁴ [ʔ]

Most Miin dialects point to a final **n* for this word; only Muhyang and Fwuan (Ibañez) have final *-m*.

NEM	Muhyang <i>kem</i> ⁶ , Fwujou <i>keiŋ</i> ⁶ , Fwuching <i>keŋ</i> ⁶
SM	Shiahmen <i>kian</i> ⁶ , Jangpyng <i>kin</i> ⁴ , Chaurjou <i>keŋ</i> ⁴
WM	Jiann'ou <i>eŋ</i> ⁴ , Jiannyang <i>iŋ</i> ⁵ , Jennchyan <i>heŋ</i> ⁶

This word is etymologically obscure. Comparable forms occur in many Southern dialects: Lichuan 黎川 *khin*¹ (Yan 1993), Meishiann *khin*¹ (Hwang 1995), Nanchang 南昌 *tchin*⁶ (Shyong 1994). Yao 瑶 *tçen*⁴ (Mau 1992) is also related.

4. Fish body parts

4.1 SCALE CM **lhən* ~ **lhin* [鱗]

NEM dialects reflect a CM **lhin*; the other dialects go back to **lhən*.

NEM	Muhyang <i>len</i> ² , Fwujou <i>liŋ</i> ² , Fwuching <i>liŋ</i> ²
SM	Shiahmen <i>lan</i> ² , Jangpyng <i>lan</i> ¹ (note tone!), Chaurjou <i>larf</i> ²
WM	Jiann'ou <i>saiŋ</i> ⁵ , Jiannyang <i>saiŋ</i> ² , Jennchyan <i>siaŋ</i> ²

The final of the Jennchyan form is irregular.

4.2 GILL CM **tshi*¹ [鰓]

This form is limited to the NEM and SM dialects:

NEM	Muhyang <i>tshei</i> ¹ , Fwujou <i>tshi</i> ¹ , Fwuching <i>tshi</i> ¹
SM	Shiahmen <i>tshi</i> ¹ , Jangpyng <i>tshi</i> ¹ , Chaurjou <i>tshi</i> ¹

WM forms elicited for this word have initial *s-* with rounded finals and are not directly comparable with the other Miin forms: Jiann'ou *so*¹, Jiannyang *su*¹. I suspect these WM forms are of learned origin.

Assuming that CM **tshi*¹ is cognate to 鰓 (*səi*), it provides a good example of Miin affricate corresponding to a *Chiehyunn* fricative. Some additional examples:

	Muhyang	Fwujou	Shiahmen	Jiannyang
鬚 (sju)	tsheu ¹	tshiu ¹	tshiu ¹	tshiu ¹
臊 (sâu)	tsho ¹	tsho ¹	tsho ¹	thau ¹
癰 (sjwän:)	tshien ³	tshian ³	tshuã ³	tshyen ³
醒 (sieng:)	tshaŋ ³	tshaŋ ³	tshĩ ³	than ³

In these forms Jiannyang *th-* comes from an earlier **tsh*.

4.3 FIN

Different dialects employ different designations for FIN.

NEM	Muhyang <i>tshi</i> ⁵ , Fwujou <i>tshie</i> ⁵
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On the basis of these two forms we can reconstruct CM **tshie*⁵.

In SM dialects FIN and WING are the same word: Shiahmen *sit*⁸. In the WM

dialects of Jiann'ou *sie*⁶ means both FIN and WING; Jiannyang *sia?*⁸ means only FIN. As noted above both of these forms are related to Muhyang *siep*⁸ which means only WING.

In general, Miin dialects, like other Chinese dialects, do not have a sharp distinction between animal and human body parts. We see this in the case of FUR/FEATHER which is equivalent to the term for human body hair. In a number of the cases examined here, the Miin forms exhibit archaic phonological traits not widely found in other dialect groups.

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閩方言的動物身體部位詞語

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本文考察了福州、廈門、潮州、漳平、建甌、建陽、穆陽等閩方言裡的一組指涉動物身體部位的詞語，包括「毛」、「尾」、「膏」、「肉」、「翼」、「卵」、「冠」、「鱗」、「鰓」及其他幾個本字未明的詞語，著重探討這些詞語的語源、語音形式及其與共同閩語音系的歷史關聯。其中大部分詞語體現了在其他方言區裡並不常見的上古音韻特徵。

關鍵詞：閩方言，共同閩語，動物身體部位詞語，歷史音韻

Convergence Testing in Common Sound Systems of the Yangtze Watershed

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1. Introduction

In the field of historical linguistics, phonological reconstruction is pursued using two different tools, i.e., the comparative method and the method of internal reconstruction. It is only the first of these that can be practically applied in Chinese.

The comparative method takes as its premise an hierarchical or family tree model for the development of language. Certain languages are assumed to have evolved from a single, common source, now no longer extant. The sound systems of the derivative languages are then systematically compared, resulting in a common system from which the development of all the derivative systems can be accounted for by the application of rules effecting changes on the common system. To some, the common system is merely a summa of relationships between the derivative systems. For others, the common system has at least some degree of historical reality. The latter group customarily call the common system a “proto-system”. The comparative method is generally viewed as the central tool for the reconstructive study of historical phonology.¹ It has a venerable history of nearly two centuries, and the techniques for its application are well established. It is taught as a conventional *modus operandi* in historical linguistics courses, where textbooks, often accompanied by exercises and workbooks, present it to students as a formalized series of methods and procedures.

All this notwithstanding, as an historical linguistic tool the comparative method has long been subject to controversy. This is because of its very dependence on the family tree model, which fails to account for a major and universally acknowledged factor in linguistic evolution, i.e., convergence through language contact. A common system has by definition been constructed on the basis of actually existing later systems, and those systems will inevitably have developed through a combination of events. In part, they

¹ Wherever possible, it must be used in concert with the method of internal reconstruction. This method is not of concern to us in the present discussion.

will reflect internally generated changes, which are variously thought of as “inheritance” (Fox 1995:139), “normal historical development” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:10), or “normal transmission” (ibid.). But, in addition, they will show the effects of language mixing due to contact-induced convergence. For this reason, any common system devised on the basis of modern systems by rigorous application of the comparative method will comprise not only genuine genetic material but also contact-generated features.² Thus, whether one views a common system as an abstract summation of inherited features or a reconstructed earlier linguistic stage from which its daughter systems have evolved by inheritance, the common system as it stands will to some degree fail to yield an accurate basis for assessing the genetic development of a language family. For it will inevitably be contaminated by non-inherited or non-genetic material. In the end, whether one is a “formulist” or a “realist” as regards the reconstructive process (Fox 1995:9), one must inevitably face the problem of how to winnow convergence-generated features from genuinely inherited distinctions in a common system. Only after this has been done can the common system serve as a platform from which studies of even earlier stages can be launched.

Practically speaking, the sifting process envisaged here involves the identification of borrowed forms; and the techniques for accomplishing this are nearly as old as the comparative method itself. What one must note are features, or collocations of features, whose presence in the language somehow contradicts the flow of “normal transmission”. A well-known example is the cluster [sk] in Modern English. By rights this should not exist, because Germanic *sk had already palatalized to sc [ʃ] by the Old English stage. Current English words having [sk], which are of course quite common, can therefore not have been inherited but must on the contrary have been borrowed.³ Once such a violation of normal transmission has been identified, the next step is to examine possible donor languages to locate the sources of the borrowing. These principles and techniques are most effective where the borrowing and source languages are either genetically unrelated or at most very distantly related. When borrowing occurs among

² In the present study contact generated features will be understood in broad terms as discussed, for example, by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74-6). They view contact phenomena as a continuum beginning with “casual contact, which involves lexical borrowing only”. Next in their scheme comes “slightly more intense contact”, which involves “slight structural borrowing”, under which they include “minor phonological structures”. After this comes “more intense contact”, which yields “slightly more structural borrowing”. For this they propose that, “In phonology, borrowing will probably include the phonemicization, even in native vocabulary, of previously allophonic alternations.” For a discussion of borrowing and phonological convergence as interrelated phenomena, cf. also Bynon (1977:239).

³ Exceptions do occur, of course. An example is “to ask”, which is the reflex of Old English *ācsian* by sporadic metathesis of [ks] to [sk].

closely related languages and dialects, this creates difficulties of analysis which vary exponentially with the intimacy of the relationship. Indeed, it can become virtually impossible to detect borrowing between closely related languages which have been in intimate contact for extended periods (Oswalt 1971; Silver and Miller 1997:331-35).

China, because of its unique political, social, and demographic history, is a linguistic area which tests to their limits the comparative method and its associated methodologies. Imperial unity led to long periods of political and social stability. Intensive land use practices and settlement patterns resulted in dense demographic concentrations over extended areas. These factors ensured that congeries of closely related languages (conventionally called “dialects”) evolved in close proximity over very long periods. In addition, centralized political and cultural control gave rise to successive national koines, which were typologically connected to one extent or another with various regional vernaculars. These koines interacted with the vernaculars in ways which augmented their already complex corpora of contact-induced borrowings. Any effort to apply the comparative method to current forms of spoken Chinese must inevitably come to grips with these complex lexical tangles and attempt to unravel them.

An important assault on this problem has been launched by the actively evolving field of Chinese dialect stratigraphy or seriation, which seeks to identify entire strata of borrowed material and then develop techniques for assigning particular loan forms to their proper layers.⁴ Ideally, once such seriation techniques have been perfected, they should be applied to all the data before a full-scale comparative reconstruction is undertaken. This would then preclude contamination of the common system by non-inherited material, since comparison of data from different strata would be precluded. Practically speaking, however, there exists at present, and may always exist, a latent danger that such extraneous material survives undetected in the common system. And if we then attempt to move beyond the current system to chronologically higher ones, we risk projecting fictitious features and distinctions backward to earlier linguistic stages. How are we to escape, or at least reduce, the danger of such an eventuality? What is needed is a set of tests, ideally carried out on the lowest or most recent common systems, which allow us to identify and remove non-genetic distinctions from those systems. Such tools, which we may call “convergence tests”, should consist of two phases. The first can be called the “Alert Phase”. It would be equivalent to an “alarm bell”, set to go off when suspicious entities or circumstances are present in the common system. The second level can be called the “Testing Phase”. At this stage material which has aroused our concern at the alert stage can be evaluated to determine whether or not

⁴ Some representative contributions to this developing sub-field are Norman (1979), Mei (2001), and Chén (Ms.).

our suspicions are justified. The procedures involved at both the alert and testing stages would not in any sense be novel or innovative. They would in fact be rule of thumb measures which have been applied by historical linguists since the nineteenth century and, *mutatis mutandis*, by Chinese historical and comparative dialectologists during much of the twentieth. However, the particular historical circumstances underlying the development of language in China, coupled with the increasing complexity of our ever-accumulating new field data, underscore a need for a higher degree of formalism in dealing with our special contact and convergence problems. It is for this reason that an experimental protocol for convergence testing is introduced here. In Section 2 the diagnostic and testing procedures are outlined and discussed. In Section 3 they are then applied to selected features or configurations in two lower-level common systems developed for dialect groups of the lower and middle Yangtze watershed. Our intent is not to promulgate these procedures as complete or perfected protocols, but rather to initiate discussion which may ultimately lead to a practically applicable formalized methodology.

2. Convergence tests for common systems of the Yangtze watershed

In this section we introduce the proposed convergence test protocols. As mentioned earlier, they comprise an Alert Phase and a Testing Phase.

A. Alert Phase. Identify suspicious elements and distinctions by determining the following points:

1. Attestation Alert. The entity is attested in a very small number of etyma.
2. Representation Alert. Examples supporting the entity are limited to one token dialect, or to token dialects found in a very restricted part of the common coverage area.
3. Venue Alert. The entity is supported by etyma which occupy highly restricted or specialized parts of the lexicon, e.g., particular social registers, technical vocabulary, ritual usage, etc.
4. System Anomaly Alert. The entity constitutes a sound class which is absent from or in some other way foreign to other language types known or thought to be related to the common system under examination. Or, it has a peculiar distribution within the system.

Comments:

A positive response on any of the above points would be grounds for closer examination. Positive responses to two or more of them would strongly suggest that testing should be undertaken.

B. Testing Phase. Test for possible convergence by posing the following questions:

1. Link Test. Is the problematic feature present in **linked** contiguous dialect groups, or **linked** dialects known to have been contiguous in the past?
2. Non-link Test. Is the problematic feature present in **non-linked** contiguous dialects?
3. Koine Test. Is the feature found in current or past koines which are or are known to have been influential in the common coverage area? If so, the stylistic register of the token etyma should be checked. Literary register may signal koine loans. Phonetic resemblances should be closely examined. This can be done only in the case of modern koines and pre-modern ones for which there are alphabetic records.
4. *Qìèyùn* System Test. Is the distinction found in the *Qìèyùn* 切韻 System (QYS)? If so, the register of the token etyma should be checked. Literary register may indicate loan relationships. Phonetic similarities cannot be directly checked in this instance, since no actual pronunciations for the *Qìèyùn* System have been alphabetically recorded. Only class or category distinctions can be considered in this test.

Comments:

1. In the Link Test, “**linked**” is taken to refer to dialect groups or common systems which are suspected of being closely affiliated with the problematic common system at a somewhat higher level, but lower than the Common Sinitic stage. Dialects which are not of this type are considered to be **non-linked** in the present context.
2. Positive responses to the Non-link and Koine Tests are good indications of possible convergence. This possibility becomes much stronger if the response to the Link Test is negative.
3. A positive response to the Link Test may indicate that the feature is inherited from a proximate common ancestor of the **linked** groups. The response to the Koine Test must be closely compared in this instance. If the Koine Test is also positive, one may be

dealing not with inheritance but rather with shared borrowings from a koine.

After completion of the testing protocol, suggested procedures before undertaking higher-level comparison are as follows:

1. Items clearly identified as having arisen through contact (i.e., which have triggered positive responses to the Koine Test in the absence of a positive indication for the Link Test) should be removed from the common system before higher-level comparison is attempted. This can be represented mnemonically as follows:

If one obtains,

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
–	+/-	+	+/-

Then,
remove the tested entity from the common system.

2. Items prompting positive responses to the Link Test in the absence of a positive indication for the Koine test should be retained in the common system.

If,

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
+	+/-	–	+/-

Then,
retain in the common system.

3. Items for which positive responses are obtained for both the Link and Koine tests should be examined for common borrowing from the Koine into the linked dialects. If common borrowing is determinable or suspected, the item should be retained in the system but excluded from higher level comparison.

If,

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
+	+/-	+	+/-

Then,
retain in the common system but exclude from higher level comparison.

4. Items for which a positive response to the *Qìyùn* System Test has been obtained in the absence of positive responses to the Link Test, the Non-link Test, and the Koine Test must be handled circumspectly. Where literary register is not identifiable as a factor,

they can perhaps be tentatively retained in higher-level comparisons. Where literary influence seems probable, they should be set aside for further study as possible loans of some sort and not included in wider comparisons.

If,			
Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
–	–	–	+
Then,			
determine register. If register is literary, exclude from higher level comparisons.			

5. Items for which no positive responses at all are obtained remain truly problematic. Methodologically, they must be retained in the common system; but they cannot safely be included in comparisons at higher levels. They must be set aside as anomalies with the hope that new data will throw more light on them in the future. It is particularly important in these cases to reexamine the comparative evidence, to determine if it contains conditioning factors which have earlier been missed.

If,			
Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
–	–	–	–
Then,			
retain in the common system but exclude from higher level comparison.			

3. Sample cases

In this section we shall apply the alert and test protocols outlined above to seven illustrative cases derived from two common systems of the Yangtze watershed. Four of the examples are taken from Proto-Central Jiāng-Huái (PCJH), a system reconstructed on the basis of five central Jiāng-Huái 江淮 dialects (Coblin 2000). The other three examples come from Proto-Huáng-Xiào (PHX), a system based on eight dialects from the Huáng-Xiào 黃孝 dialect family (Coblin 2005). Data for the Jiāng-Huái dialects come from the following points: Nanking (NK), Jùróng 句容 (JR), Yángzhōu 揚州 (YZ), Gáoyóu 高郵 (GY), and Héfěi 合肥 (HF).⁵ For PHX the dialect points are: Yīngshān 英山 (YS), Xīshuǐ 浠水 (XS), Hóngān 紅安 (HA), Èchéng 鄂城 (EC), Guǎngjì 廣濟 (GJ), Ruìchāng 瑞昌 (RC), Jiǔjiāng 九江 (JJ), and Huángméi 黃梅

⁵ Héfěi forms are from Anonymous (1989). All other modern forms are from Anonymous (1960).

(HM).⁶ For each example, *Qièyùn* System forms are given for ease of reference to the traditional phonological framework. The orthography is that of Karlgren, as emended by F. K. Li. Our first example is a dummy case whose purpose is to illustrate the negative functions of the Alert Phase. The next three show how the Testing Phase assays particular reconstructed entities in the common systems. The final three examples exemplify “worst case scenarios”, where none of the Testing Phase queries yield positive responses and the tested entities consequently remain problematic.

3.1 PCJH **p-* vs. **pʰ-*, **t-* vs. **tʰ-*, etc. This example concerns the distinction between plain and aspirated obstruents in PCJH. The fact is that this distinction does not trigger any of the four alarms of the Alert Phase. Thus:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
—	—	—	—

We could, if we wanted, test the feature using the four tests of the Testing Phase, but there would be no point in this, since it would presumably tell us nothing of interest about the distinction. Any feature can be queried in the Alert Phase, but only those which result in valid alerts are in principle worth testing.

3.2 PCJH **-e*. The common second person pronoun has a curious final correspondence among Jiāng-Huái dialects, which requires the reconstruction of this unique proto-final:

nǐ 你	QYS nǐ:						
NK li ²² ±	JR ni ²¹³ ±	YZ li ⁴² ±	GY li ²¹ ±	HF li ±			
PCJH *le ±							

One may compare this with the following examples, which have the common PCJH final **-j*:

⁶ Data are from the following sources: YS: Chén (1989); XS: Zhān (1980); HA: Chén and Lǐ (1996-99), vol. 2, pp. 1731-48; EC: Chao et al, 1948, pp. 963-983; GJ: Lú et al (1985); RC: Zēng (Ms. 1); JJ: Zēng (Ms. 2); HM: Chao et al, 1948, pp. 1070-1088 and Anonymous 1999 (the latter identified as HMXZ).

ní 泥	QYS	niei				
NK li ¹³ 陽平	JR ni ²⁴ 陽平	YZ li ³⁴ 陽平	GY li ²¹³ 陽平	HF m ₁ 陽平		
PCJH *li 陽平						
di 弟	QYS	diei:				
NK ti ⁴⁴ 去	JR ti ⁵⁵ 去, tɕi ⁵⁵ 去	YZ ti ⁵⁵ 去	GY ti ⁵³ 去	HF tsɿ 去		
PCJH *ti 去						

In the Alert Phase we of course find that the Attestation Alert is triggered, since the problematic correspondence is found in only one word. However, the uniqueness of the correspondence set is based on forms in both Yángzhōu and Héfěi, so the Representation Alert is not activated. The Venue Alert is negative here, since the word is part of the core vocabulary of the language. Interestingly, the System Anomaly Alert is also not triggered, for, though such a unique pronominal form is not a widely known feature of the area in question, in the closely related Huáng-Xiào dialect group the ordinary second person pronoun does have a unique form, PHX **n*, not posited for any other syllable. Thus, for the Alert Tests we obtain the following result:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
+	—	—	—

With one alert we are justified in moving to the Testing Phase. And, as we have just noted, the Link Test is positive because of the Huáng-Xiào parallel. Examples of it are also seen in non-linked dialects such as the Xiāng 湘 and Hūi 徽 groups, so this test is positive. The Koine test is negative. Interestingly, the QYS Test can be adjudged positive, for the word *nǐ* 你 in the QYS has a unique initial/final combination, if we limit ourselves to the core Common Chinese lexicon and exclude obscure forms and lexicographical ghosts. Our result is then as follows:

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
+	+	—	+

A configuration of this type, which is covered under the second of the procedures outlined in Section 2 above, requires us to retain the item in the common system and in due time to include it in wider comparisons. This is of course quite interesting, because, if we choose to compare PCJH and PHX, we will then need to reconstruct a unique second person pronominal form as ancestral to the correspondingly unique forms in

both daughter systems. Only further comparative study on a broad scale can tell us what this ultimately means for the history of Chinese, in the Yangtze watershed and beyond.

3.3 With the preceding case we can by way of comparison cite the following one, which also involves a unique correspondence set:

zhě	者	QYS	tʃja:						
NK	tʃʷe ²² 上	JR	tse ²¹³ 上	YZ	tse ⁴² 上	GY	tse ²¹ 上	HF	tʃʷe ^上
PCJH	*ʃ?								

This can be compared with examples of the following type, which involve the common PCJH diphthongal final **-ie*:

chē	車	QYS	tʃhja						
NK	tʃʷe ³¹ 陰平	JR	tsəi ³¹ 陰平	YZ	tʃʷi ³¹ 陰平	GY	tʃʷi ⁴⁴ 陰平	HF	tʃʷe ^{陰平}
PCJH	*tʃʷie ^{陰平}								

shě	捨	QYS	ʃja:						
NK	ʃʷe ²² 上	JR	səi ²¹³ 上	YZ	ʃi ⁴² 上	GY	ʃi ²¹ 上	HF	ʃe ^上
PCJH	*ʃie ^上								

Applying the Alert Phase tests, we of course have a positive response to the Attestation Alert, for we are dealing with another isolated case. The Representation Alert is negative, since four of the five dialects contribute to the uniqueness of this set.⁷ The Venue Alert is triggered by the fact that the word *zhě* 者 is of known literary origin and is restricted to literary or literary-derived compounds and expressions in the dialects. The System Anomaly Alert is activated because no such unique final is known for this etymon elsewhere. Our result is therefore:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
+	—	+	+

Having triggered three alerts, this correspondence set is highly suspicious. Moving to the Testing Phase, the Link and Non-link Tests are negative, for no such distinct segmental shape for the syllable *zhě* 者 is found elsewhere. The same is true for the QYS

⁷ That is, they differentiate it from the well-attested one found in *chē* 車, *shě* 捨, etc.

Test. This leaves the Koine Test. A **distinction** of the type seen here is not found in any pertinent koines. But, in examining the **actual orthographic form** of the syllable *zhě* 者 in late Míng and early Qīng Guānhuà 官話, which was the primary koine in the Yangtze watershed during those dynasties, we find that it had a monophthongal vowel final of just the type seen in four of our Jiāng-Huái token dialects. For example, it was spelled *chè* [tʃɛ] by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), Nicholas Trigault (1577-1628) and Francisco Varo (1627-1687), as *tchè* [tʃɛ] by Joseph Prémare (1666-1736), etc. It is thus probable that the response to the Koine Test should be positive, in that the koine and dialect readings agree in segmental form. Our results are therefore:

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
–	–	+	–

This configuration identifies the queried item as probably having arisen through contact with a koine, and the first procedure in Section 2 requires that we remove it from the common system before moving on to higher-level comparisons.

3.4 In the Huáng-Xiào dialects, traditional (i.e., QYS) *yánggrù* 陽入 tone syllables tend to be found under the *yángqù* 陽去 tone. There are, however, numerous exceptions to this, e.g.,

dí 笛	QYS diek							
YS	ti ³³ 陽去		XS	t'i ³³ 陽去	HA	ti ²¹⁴ 入	EC	ti ¹³ 入
GJ	t'i ³³ 陽去		RC	tei ²¹² 入	JJ	ti ⁵³ 入	HM	t'i ³³ 陽去
PHX	*t'i 陽去 (~ ti? 入)							
dú 讀	QYS duk							
YS	təu ³³ 陽去		XS	tou ³³ 陽去	HA	təu ²¹⁴ 入	EC	teu ¹³ 入
GJ	[---]		RC	t'u ³³ 陽去白	JJ	təu ⁵³ 入	HM	teu ⁴² 入
PHX	*t'u 陽去 (~ tu? 入)							
sú 俗	QYS zjwok							
YS	səu ³³ 陽去		XS	sou ³³ 陽去	HA	səu ³³ 陽去	EC	[---]
GJ	[---]		RC	su ²¹² 入	JJ	səu ⁵³ 入	HM	[---]
PHX	*su 陽去 (~ su? 入)							

bái	白	QYS	bək				
YS	pɛ ³³ 陽去	XS	pɛ ³³ 陽去	HA	pæ ²¹⁴ 入	EC	pæ ¹³ 入
GJ	pɛ ²² 陽去, p'ɛ ²² 陽去	RC	pɛ ²¹² 入, p'ɛ ³³ 陽去	JJ	pæ ⁵³ 入	HM	[---]
PHX	*p'ɛ 陽去 (~ pɛ? 入)						

In all of these sets we find an admixture of *rù* 入 tone forms. These sometimes, but not always, involve doublet readings. And, as can be seen here, there are a number of different subtypes of such sets, where different admixtures of *rù* readings appear in this or that set. It is clear that if the comparative method were strictly and mechanically applied here, one would need to posit a number of additional tones in order to account for these mixed *yángqù*/*rù* cognate sets. For each different correspondence type would theoretically represent a distinct proto-tone. Let us now apply the Alert Phase queries to this conundrum. The Attestation Alert is negative, for there are many such cases in the data. The situation is clearly a wide-ranging and systemic one. The Representation Alert is also negative, since the problem is well represented in the dialects. The Venue Alert is perhaps positive. The phenomenon is, to be sure, found in various types of etyma; but its overall distribution yields a pattern. In common colloquial words, one is likely to find doublets in *yángqù* and *rù*. In literary or elevated words, one sees mostly “simple” sets of mixed *yángqù*/*rù* readings, i.e., unadulterated by doublets. Thus, the problem is ultimately related in some way to stylistic register. The System Anomaly Alert is clearly positive, for, as already indicated, the comparative method, if followed to its logical conclusion, will lead us to posit numerous new *rù* tone classes for which parallels are not found in closely related dialect types. Our results are:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
—	—	+ ?	+

We should therefore proceed to the Testing Phase. Here we find that there are in fact corresponding *rù* (as opposed to non-*rù*) tone readings in linked dialects, in non-linked dialects, in the Míng/Qīng koine, and in the QYS. Our result is then:

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
+	+	+	+

But what is crucial here, as we have noted in the third procedure in Section 2 above, is that the Link and Koine Test results are concurrently positive. When this configuration obtains, we are required to retain the tested material in the common system but to exclude it from higher level comparison. What we are being told by this is

that the common Huáng-Xiào proto-language may indeed have possessed doublet *yángqù*/*rù* pairs, the *yángqù* members of which were native or inherited forms and the *rùshēng* ones borrowed words. But this complex situation should be viewed as a relatively late phenomenon and not projected back to earlier stages of Chinese when we undertake wider comparisons.

3.5 PCJH *-ou in Guttural Initial Syllables. In guttural initial syllables, PCJH *-ou is reconstructed in the following two examples:

gē	歌	QYS	kā						
NK	ko ³¹ 陰平	JR	ko ³¹ 陰平	YZ	kɤu ³¹ 陰平	GY	kɤu ⁴⁴ 陰平	HF	ko 陰平
PCJH	*kou 陰平								
kě	可	QYS	khâ:						
NK	k'ɔ ²² 上	JR	k'ɔ ²¹³ 上	YZ	k'ɤu ⁴² 上	GY	k'ɤu ²¹ 上	HF	k'ɔ 上
PCJH	*k'ou 上								

Final *-ou in this environment contrasts with the well-attested PCJH final *-o in syllables such as those found in the next two examples:

kē	棵	QYS	(k'uâ)						
NK	k'ɔ ³¹ 陰平	JR	k'ɔ ³¹ 陰平	YZ	k'ɔ ³¹ 陰平	GY	k'ɔ ⁴⁴ 陰平	HF	k'ɔ 陰平
PCJH	*k'ɔ 陰平								
hé	河	QYS	yâ						
NK	xo ¹³ 陽平	JR	xɔ ²⁴ 陽平	YZ	xo ³⁴ 陽平	GY	xɔ ²¹³ 陽平	HF	xɔ 陽平
PCJH	*xo 陽平								

We shall now assess post-guttural *-ou in terms of our Alert Phase queries. The Attestation Alert is definitely triggered, since this final occurs in only two common PCJH syllables.⁸ The Representation Alert is not activated, because forms which characterize this final and differentiate it from *-o are found in both Yángzhōu and Gāoyóu. The Venue Alert is not triggered, for the two syllables in question are ordinary

⁸ There may of course be more examples which do not happen to occur in the sources we have used. But it seems unlikely that there could be many such cases.

words in the lexicons of the dialects in question. The System Anomaly Alert is triggered. Nothing parallel to this small syllable class is found in the Tàirú 泰如 group to the east or the Huáng-Xiào family to the west, both of which, as southern or Yangtze watershed Mandarin types, are thought to be fairly closely related to the central Jiāng-Huái group. Nor is such a class found in the broader range of Mandarin dialects found beyond the Yangtze watershed, or even further afield in other dialect types. Our result is therefore as follows:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
+	—	—	+

Two or more positive responses in the Alert Phase strongly indicate the need for further assessment. Moving, then, to the Testing Phase, we find that the response to the Link Test is negative, for no such distinct final plus initial class is found in any linked dialect. This response is also obtained for the Non-link Test, for we do not find such a class in any contiguous non-linked dialect group, such as Wú 吳, Gàn 贛, or Hūi 徽. The Koine Test is negative, for no attested koine variety maintains such a distinction. Finally, the *Qìyùn* System Test is negative, since the QYS shows no comparable distinct syllable type. Our result for the Test Phase is therefore as follows:

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
—	—	—	—

The data sets supporting our PCJH **kou* vs. **ko* type syllable contrasts are sound, so far as can be determined. Methodologically we are therefore required to retain the distinction for the PCJH system unless and until the data themselves can be challenged. But, as pointed out in Section 2, negative responses to all four queries indicate that such a distinction should not be projected back to earlier, pre-PCJH stages. We cannot safely assume that it existed in earlier forms of Chinese. Instead, we must continue to probe the data for alternate explanations of the supporting cognate sets.

Such scrutiny in fact yields interesting results. In the neighboring Tàirú dialects the common final class comprising syllables represented by PCJH **-ou* and **-o*, and corresponding directly to QYS final *-â* (~ *-uâ*), is often realized as a diphthong such as *-ou*, *-ɤu*, or *-əu*. And realizations of this sort are also found for the same final class in certain of the neighboring northern Wú dialects, including the traditionally prestigious one spoken in Sūzhōu 蘇州. We may therefore hypothesize that our problematic Yángzhōu and Gāoyóu readings for *gē* 歌 and *kě* 可 are in fact loans from one of these neighboring dialects. If this proves to be true, then the distinction between PCJH **-ou*

and *-o in these cases is the result of contact rather than inheritance. Two theoretical interpretations are possible here. One is that the *-ou/-o distinction actually existed at the PCJH stage and that the borrowed material had entered the system at or somewhat before that chronological level. The other is that borrowing occurred only in more recent stages of Yángzhōu and Gāoyóu and did not affect the PCJH level as a whole. If the latter case ultimately proves to be true, then we must remove the distinction from the PCJH system and consider it to have been an artifact of the comparative method. In either case, we should not project it back to earlier stages of Chinese. It is probably not inherited.

3.6 PHX *-ən. This final occurs exclusively after gutturals in a small number of words. The following are examples:

gǎn 敢 QYS kām:

YS	kan ³⁴ 上	XS	kan ⁴⁴ 上	HA	kan ⁵⁵ 上	EC	kan ⁴² 上
GJ	kan ³³ 上	RC	kō ³⁵ 上	JJ	kā ³⁵ 上	HM	kan ³⁵ 上
PHX	*kən 上						

gàn 幹 QYS kân-

YS	kan ³⁵ 陰去	XS	kan ³⁵ 陰去	HA	kan ³⁵ 陰去	EC	[---]
GJ	kan ³⁵ 陰去	RC	kō ³²⁵ 陰去	JJ	kā ²¹³ 陰去	HM	[---]
PHX	*kən 陰去						

kàn 看 QYS khân-

YS	k'an ³⁵ 陰去	XS	k'an ³⁵ 陰去	HA	k'an ³⁵ 陰去	EC	k'an ³⁵ 陰去
GJ	k'an ³⁵ 陰去	RC	k'ō ³²⁵ 陰去	JJ	k'ā ²¹³ 陰去	HMXZ	k'an ²⁵ 去
PHX	*k'an 陰去						

Besides these very common Mandarin etyma, PHX *-ən also occurs in certain others involving specialized technical or manufacturing terminology, such as *kān* 刊 “to engrave for printing” and *hàn* 焊 “to solder”. It contrasts with a widely found final, *-on, whose post-guttural occurrence is exemplified in the following:

gān 乾 QYS kân

YS	kan ³¹ 陰平	XS	kan ²¹ 陰平	HA	kan ¹¹ 陰平	EC	[---]
GJ	kuen ⁴⁴ 陰平	RC	kō ⁴⁴ 平	JJ	kā ²² 陰平	HMXZ	kan ¹¹ 陰平
PHX	*kon 陰平						

gǎn 感 QYS kâm:

YS	kan ³⁴ 上	XS	kan ⁴⁴ 上	HA	kan ⁵⁵ 上	EC	kan ⁴² 上
GJ	kuen ³³ 上	RC	kō ³⁵ 上	JJ	kā ³⁵ 上	HM	kan ³⁵ 上
PHX	*kon 上						

Other common words belonging to this syllable type are *gān* 肝, *gān* 杆, *gǎn* 趕, *kǎn* 侃, *hán* 寒, *hàn* 汗, *hàn* 旱, and *hàn* 漢. We may also note here that finals **-an* and **-on* contrast with PHX **-an*, whose appearance in guttural-initial colloquial register forms is illustrated in the following sets:

yǎn 眼 QYS ngăn:

YS	ian ³⁴ 上文, ŋan ³⁴ 上白	XS	ien ⁴⁴ 上文, ŋan ⁴⁴ 上白	HA	ian ⁵⁵ 上文, ŋan ⁵⁵ 上白	EC	ien ⁴² 上文, ŋan ⁴² 上白
GJ	ien ³³ 上文, ŋan ³³ 上白	RC	ŋã ³⁵ 上白	JJ	iẽ ³⁵ 上文, ŋã ³⁵ 上白	HM	ien ³⁵ 上, ŋan ³⁵ 上
PHX	*ien ^上 ~ ŋan ^上						

jiān 間 QYS kǎn

YS	tɕian ³¹ 陰平文, kan ³¹ 陰平白	XS	tɕien ²¹ 陰平文, kan ²¹ 陰平白	HA	tɕian ¹¹ 陰平文, kan ¹¹ 陰平白	EC	tɕien ²⁴ 陰平文, kan ²⁴ 陰平白
GJ	tɕien ⁴⁴ 陰平文, kan ⁴⁴ 陰平白	RC	kan ⁴⁴ 平白	JJ	tɕẽ ²² 陰平文, kã ²² 陰平白	HM	tɕien ¹¹ 陰平文, kan ¹¹ 陰平白
PHX	*tɕien ^{陰平} ~ kan ^{陰平}						

We must now examine these three finals for possible convergence involvement. To begin, **-an* yields negative responses to all four alarms in the Alert Phase. There is, in other words, nothing suspicious about it. We need not test it at all. Let us then move on to **-on*. This final evokes negative responses to the Attestation Alert, the Representation Alert, and the Venue Alert. But for the System Anomaly Alert we obtain a positive response, i.e.,

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
—	—	—	+

For the fact is that, when compared with final configurations in neighboring families such as the Jiāng-Huái and Tàirú groups, our final **-on* represents an anomalous class. Indeed, in those cognate groups our PHX **-on* and **-ɔn* are consistently combined as a single final. Now, since this problem is directly connected with **-ɔn* itself, it seems advisable at this point to examine this final in terms of our Alert Phase.

As regards the Attestation Alert, final **-ɔn* does indeed occur in a fairly limited number of words, but this group is hardly as small as the one cited for PCJH **-ou* above. It is perhaps safest to count this as a provisional negative response. The answer to the Representation Alert is positive, for it is clearly the peculiar Guǎngjì forms in -an (rather than -uen) which have forced us to recognize a unique correspondence type here. And Guǎngjì lies on the Yangtze River at the outer southwest edge of the Huáng-Xiào -speaking area. The response to the Venue Alert should probably be negative. As noted above, the syllables reconstructed with **-ɔn* do involve certain specialized manufacturing terms, but in addition they also include several rather common, general Mandarin lexical items. The System Anomaly Alert clearly elicits a positive response, for this final abuts on **-on* in transecting a common final type found elsewhere in the Yangtze watershed. Our result is, then, as follows:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
— ?	+	—	+

We should therefore definitely move to the Testing Phase, where we can begin with **-ɔn*. Here we encounter negative responses to all four tests, for no class comparable to our final is present in any other modern dialect group, whether linked or non-linked, or in any attested koine, or in the QYS. Thus, we obtain:

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
—	—	—	—

With this result, the feature should not be projected back to earlier stages of Chinese. Interestingly, if we apply the Testing Phase to **-on*, we obtain the same negative pattern we have observed for **-ɔn*. But this is obviously because, from the standpoint of the other systems we have been considering, i.e., linked and non-linked dialects, koines, and the QYS, our PHX **-ɔn* and **-on* are complementary. What our

materials seem to be telling us is that the two should probably be viewed as a single entity. From the standpoint of Huáng-Xiào comparative studies, we must continue to investigate our data, to see if there is some non-genetic justification for the split we have observed. Our attention here must obviously focus on Guǎngjì; and, unfortunately, the Guǎngjì data published thus far are too scant to resolve the issue. We can, however, hazard a guess about it. It seems possible that the peculiar Guǎngjì readings in -an rather than -uen here in fact represent loans from some other source, such as Míng/Qīng Guānhuà, Pǔtōnghuà, or the regional Wǔhàn 武漢-based koine of central Húběi. Only further study of the formation and history of the Guǎngjì lexicon can resolve this question. But what we can be certain of is that we should not project our **-ən/*-on* distinction back to earlier historical stages. In wider comparisons, we must treat them as a single class.

3.7 The PHX “Hybrid Sibilants”. PHX as currently reconstructed has two sibilant series, dental and retroflex. The dental sibilant series is unremarkable. The following examples illustrate the retroflex series. Correspondence sets are divided into two types, A and B, with type membership conditioned by vowel onsets of the PHX finals.

Type A Examples — Mid and High Vowel Onsets

zhàn 戰	QYS	tšjān-					
YS	tšan ³⁵ 陰去	XS	tšan ³⁵ 陰去	HA	tšan ³⁵ 陰去	EC	[---]
GJ	tsen ³⁵ 陰去	RC	tšẽ ³²⁵ 陰去	JJ	tšẽ ²¹³ 陰去	HM	[---]
PHX	*tšen 陰去						
chē 車	QYS	tshja					
YS	tš'ε ³¹ 陰平	XS	tš'ε ²¹ 陰平	HA	tš'ε ¹¹ 陰平	EC	[---]
GJ	ts'e ⁴⁴ 陰平文, ts'a ⁴⁴ 陰平白	RC	tš'ε ⁴⁴ 平文, tš'a ²² 平白	JJ	tš'ε ²² 陰平文, tš'ɒ ²² 陰平白	HMXZ	ts'ε ¹¹ 陰平, ts'a ¹¹ 陰平
PHX	*tš'ε 陰平 ~ tš'ia 陰平 (?)						
shàn 善	QYS	žjān:, žjān-					
YS	šan ³³ 陽去	XS	šan ³³ 陽去	HA	šan ³³ 陽去	EC	[---]
GJ	sen ²² 陽去	RC	šẽ ³³ 陽去	JJ	šẽ ³³ 陽去	HM	[---]
PHX	*šen 陽去						

Type B Examples —Low Vowel Onsets

zhāi	齋	QYS	tʂai				
YS	tsai ³¹ 陰平	XS	tʂai ²¹ 陰平	HA	tsai ¹¹ 陰平	EC	tsai ²⁴ 陰平
GJ	tsai ⁴⁴ 陰平	RC	tsaæ ⁴⁴ 平	JJ	tsaæ ²² 陰平	HM	tsai ¹¹ 陰平
PHX	*tʂai 陰平						

chāo	抄	QYS	tʂau				
YS	ts'au ³¹ 陰平	XS	tʂ'au ²¹ 陰平	HA	ts'au ¹¹ 陰平	EC	[---]
GJ	ts'au ⁴⁴ 陰平	RC	ts'au ⁴⁴ 平	JJ	ts'au ²² 陰平	HM	[---]
PHX	*tʂ'au 陰平						

shān	山	QYS	ʂan				
YS	san ³¹ 陰平	XS	ʂan ²¹ 陰平	HA	san ¹¹ 陰平	EC	san ²⁴ 陰平
GJ	san ⁴⁴ 陰平	RC	sã ⁴⁴ 平	JJ	sã ²² 陰平	HM	san ¹¹ 陰平
PHX	*ʂan 陰平						

There is, however, a third correspondence type, which differs from types A and B. It is illustrated in the following:

zhàn	站	QYS	tʂam-				
YS	tʂan ³⁵ 陰去	XS	tʂan ³⁵ 陰去 tʂan ³³ 陽去 “to stand”, “station”	HA	tʂan ³⁵ 陰去	EC	[---]
GJ	[---]	RC	tsã ³²⁵ 陰去, tsã ³³ 陽去	JJ	tsã ²¹³ 陰去 “to stand”, tsã ³³ 陽去 “station”	HM	[---]

chā	叉	QYS	tʂ'a				
YS	tʂ'a ³¹ 陰平	XS	tʂ'a ²¹ 陰平	HA	tʂ'a ¹¹ 陰平	EC	[---]
GJ	ts'a ⁴⁴ 陰平	RC	ts'a ⁴⁴ 平	JJ	ts'p ²² 陰平	HM	[---]

chá	茶	QYS	ɬa				
YS	tʂ'a ⁵⁵ 陽平	XS	tʂ'a ³² 陽平	HA	tʂ'a ³¹ 陽平	EC	[---]
GJ	ts'a ³¹ 陽平	RC	ts'a ⁴⁴ 平	JJ	ts'p ⁴⁴ 陽平	HM	[---]

shǎ 傻	QYS	ɕwa:					
YS	ɕa ³⁴ 上	XS	ɕa ⁴⁴ 上	HA	ɕa ⁵⁵ 上	EC	[---]
GJ	[---]	RC	[---]	JJ	sɒ ³⁵ 上	HM	[---]

Such examples suggest the existence of an additional sibilant type, which in earlier versions of our PHX reconstructed system we called “hybrid sibilants”. How they would have differed phonetically from the dental (**ts*-, etc.) and retroflex (**tʂ*-, etc.) sibilant sets was unclear. They were tentatively set up as **tʃ*-, **tʃʰ*-, and **ʃ*-. A mysterious series of this type is an obvious candidate for further assessment. Let us begin with the Alert Phase. Applying the Attestation Alert, we find that examples for **tʃʰ*- are reasonably numerous, while those for **tʃ*- and **ʃ*- are quite rare. This, though not an unequivocal positive response, certainly constitutes grounds for suspicion. Moving on to the Representation Alert, we find that hybrid sibilant sets appear to be aberrant or hybrid variants of the type B retroflex sets exemplified above. They differ from the type B examples in that in Yīngshān and Hóngān they have retroflex rather than the expected dental sibilant initials. But Yīngshān and Hóngān do not form a peripheral or restricted enclave in the Huáng-Xiào-speaking area. Our response to the Representation Alert should therefore be negative. The Venue Alert is clearly negative, for the etyma represented by the hybrid sibilants cover a number of lexical areas and are not limited by style or register. The System Anomaly Alert yields a positive response, for no sound class corresponding to our hybrid sibilants is known from any related dialect type. Our result is as follows:

Attestation	Representation	Venue	Anomaly
+ ?	—	—	+

In conclusion, though our Alert Phase does not mark the hybrid sibilants as highly suspicious, we do have sufficient grounds for moving to the Testing Phase.

Application of the Testing Phase questions yields negative answers on all four queries, for no initial class matching our hybrid sibilants is found in any linked or non-linked dialect, or in any known koine, or in the QYS:

Link	Non-link	Koine	QYS
—	—	—	—

We are therefore not justified in projecting the series back to older stages of Chinese. We should instead hold it in abeyance at the PHX level and study it further as

opportunities arise.

Among our suggested procedures for further comparison in Section 2 is the admonition to reexamine the data for missed conditioning factors. In the present instance this leads to several suggestive observations. First, as already noted, virtually all examples for the hybrid sibilants involve the aspirated initial we have written as **tf'*. Correspondence sets supporting **tf-* and **f-* are in fact exceedingly rare. Secondly, in the two crucial dialects, Yīngshān and Hóngān, examples representing **tf'* always belong to a traditional non-*rùshēng* tone class and have the segmental shape *tʂ'a*, i.e., initial *tʂ'* plus final *-a*. And finally, in these same dialects the syllable type *ts'a* (except when derived from earlier checked final syllables), does not exist. Now, *ts'a* would have been the expected form for such syllables if they had developed regularly as type B syllables. But what appears to have happened is that earlier retroflexion was not lost in Yīngshān and Hóngān syllables having the PHX form **tʂ'a*. Thus, what originally appeared to be a separate series of sibilants turns out to have been in most cases a unique development of PHX retroflex **tʂ'* in one particular syllable type. Our failure to recognize this was due to the peculiar nature of the conditioning factors involved here. But our Testing Phase outcome cautioned us to return to the data and reexamine them for just such errors of analysis. And, notably, even if we had not discovered our mistake, the testing protocol would have saved us from the further error of assuming that the hybrid sibilants were a genuine inherited feature. We would not have attempted to project this feature back to earlier stages of Chinese.

4. Conclusions

The convergence testing protocol outlined in Section 2 is designed to identify borrowed material, which should accordingly be removed from common systems. The fifth, sixth, and seventh examples in Section 3 are instances where no borrowings are conclusively identified in the Testing Phase, in spite of the fact that the Alarm Phase has cast suspicion on the problematic features. It is examples of this type which are most worrisome when dealing with common systems. Methodologically, they are valid products of the comparative method until proven otherwise. But we have nonetheless been warned that they threaten to contaminate the common system with admixtures of non-inherited features. In such instances, our protocol recommends that, though the problematic features must be maintained in the common system, they should be withheld from comparison at higher levels. In dealing with entities of this type, it would seem advisable to bracket or otherwise mark them in some way that “quarantines” them from incontestably valid entities. Perhaps, for example, one should speak of PHX **-an* and **-on* as against PHX *{*-ən}*, with the bracketed form to be barred from wider

comparison. This matter deserves further consideration and discussion. But what we should not do at the present stage of our work is simply excise such problematic features from our common systems, as if they had never been present. However vexing, they should remain with us in some form until we have accounted for them one way or another.

The convergence testing protocol introduced here has been designed specifically for use among Mandarin dialects in the Yangtze watershed. In order to apply it elsewhere, it should presumably be modified to meet other contingencies. For example, in other geographical regions one might want to emend the Non-link Test to read, “Is the problematic feature present in non-linked contiguous dialects **or non-Sinitic languages?**” And in areas with very long and complex histories of interdialect contact, such as Fukien or southern Zhèjiāng, more complex alert and testing protocols may be in order. In closing, what we call for here is a continuing discussion of these issues as part of the newly developing methodologies in our field.

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長江流域漢語方言共同音系中趨同現象的檢測

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在歷史語言學的研究中，比較法被長期用作比較親屬語言、擬測其早期音韻系統的有效工具。然而，語言接觸亦會促成親屬語言的變化，所導致的某些共同特徵並非沿襲自其祖語，而是趨同現象所致，這使得比較法的效用有所削弱。本文設計出一套形式化的檢測步驟，據以討論長江流域官話方言之間的語言接觸及其間的趨同現象。

關鍵詞：比較擬測，語言接觸，語言趨同現象，長江流域官話方言

One Language, Two Systems: A Phonological Study of Two Cantonese Language Manuals of 1888*

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1. Introduction

Any historical investigation begins with data. Data tell of the past by betraying secrets of change; they also help us gauge the direction of these changes and reconstruct the patterns in which the changes have taken place. Data, however, could also be misleading. Historical linguistics resorts to both modern idioms and ancient documents in its efforts to examine how languages evolve over time and to account for differentiation and assimilation between languages and language communities. Chinese, not being a phonetic language, is known for its inadequacy in capturing sounds or sound changes in its orthographic system. Early writings in dialects other than Mandarin were scarce, and the scarcity is even more pronounced in Cantonese. Unlike the Wu and Min dialects which saw some productions of fiction and drama in regional speech in as early as the 16th century,¹ the earliest extant work in Cantonese is a collection of folksongs that dates back to the early 19th century.² However, because of their composite style of mixing the vernacular with the classical, the songs do not necessarily reveal much about the actual happenings in the language. It wasn't until the twentieth century, thanks to radio recordings and movie productions especially in Hong Kong that colloquial Cantonese was recorded and preserved in its full gamut of styles

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¹ For example, the earliest extant material for the Min dialect is *荔鏡記*, a drama composed in the 16th century. 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) compiled a collection of folksongs, entitled *山歌*, written in a colloquial Wu dialect.

² *粵謳* was a collection of close to a hundred Cantonese love songs produced by 招子庸 in 1828.

and contents, a preservation that is critical to any form of linguistic inquiry.

On the other hand, Cantonese has long been the focus of pedagogical attention since the 19th century. When the Manchu government opened Canton to the West for trading in the early 1800s, and especially after Hong Kong was ceded to the British in 1842, there was a growing demand for Cantonese language instruction to meet the urgent needs of western colonial officers, businessmen, and missionaries who came to the Canton-HK-Macao region where they had to interact with the locals while pursuing their activities. One of the first textbooks compiled was *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* in 1841. In almost 700 pages, the author covered a wide range of linguistic and cultural topics written mostly in the colloquial form. A series of other primers followed suit in subsequent years, both in China and abroad. The pool of teaching materials produced since then has been vast in quantity and varied in both pragmatic concerns and pedagogical devices. They provide a most valuable source of colloquial data that document how the language has changed in a span of almost two hundred years.³

Admittedly, the use of pedagogical materials for linguistic analysis has its shortcomings. As teaching materials in general are prescriptive by design and tend to use simple sentences and words in beginning chapters, the paradigms do not always represent or reflect the complexities in the actual language. On the other hand, as Cantonese textbooks are primarily written in Romanization of one kind or another, the transcriptions preserve the colloquial flavor otherwise impossible to achieve in the regular writing system. By virtue of its phonetic make-up, a Romanized text is more readily equipped to record and reflect sounds and sound changes than a character version. In this regard, the Cantonese pedagogical materials are richly informative, and critical to our efforts to look into the phonological past especially of the early days when neither radio nor video recordings were available.

1888 saw the publication of two such Cantonese manuals, both designed for teaching English speakers how to study the Cantonese language. One was published in Hong Kong, with a preface actually dated 1887. The other came out in New York, with a Chinese title page showing 光緒十四年, i.e. 1888, as the year of publication.

J. Dyer Ball. 1888. *Cantonese Made Easy: A Book of Simple Sentences in the Cantonese Dialect*. Hong Kong: China Mail Office.

T. L. Stedman and K.P. Lee. 1888. *A Chinese and English Phrase Book in the Canton Dialect*. New York: William R. Jenkins.

³ I have used some of the materials in my works on early Cantonese grammar. See for example Cheung (1997, 2001).

Hence, despite the vast distance between Asia and America, the two manuals were describing and teaching, so they claimed, essentially the same Canton dialect of the same period in time. They each have their own spelling systems to detail the phonological make-up of every character in the lessons.

The following are two excerpts from the manuals that pertain to similar topical contents.

Phrase Book (PB)

請醫生.

1. 有乜病呀?
2. 先生,我今日覺得唔爽快.
3. 邊處覺得唔自然呢?
4. 我頭好暈.
5. 有食錯嘢黎嗎? (p.105)

Cantonese Made Easy (CME)

1. 呢位係醫生咯....
2. 我今日唔多自然咯.
3. 你有乜嘢病呢?
4. 頭痲呀...
5. 我應食乜嘢藥呢? (p.24)

The subject matter aside, even a cursory look at the style of the dialogues suggests that the two manuals are very much alike in their use of words and grammatical patterns. Those who are familiar with Cantonese can easily tell that the language these lessons teach is Cantonese, perhaps an older variety of Cantonese.

In phonology, however, the two manuals are not quite as collaborative with each other, either segmentally or in terms of tone. As the following numbers show, CME seems to have a larger inventory of initials, finals and tones.

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>
Initials:	20 initials	22 initials
Finals:	55 finals	63 finals
Tones:	8 tones	9 tones + changed tones

The question to ask is why were there two apparently very different sound systems for the same language in 1888? The answer could be that the systems were basically the same, the differences being merely a matter of transcription. Or, there could be phonological variants in the language, variations that were only partially recorded in the manuals. Or, the manuals could in fact represent different varieties of Cantonese in the late 19th century. Or, was there a standard form of Cantonese in circulation in the late 19th century? What I will do in the following pages is to compare and contrast the two language manuals, identify their discrepancies in sounds, sort through the confusing materials, and seek to account for this intriguing story of one language, two systems.

2. CME

2.1 *Cantonese Made Easy* (CME) was a work produced by a celebrated linguist, James Dyer Ball (1847-1919), an Englishman who was born and raised in China.⁴ Admirably gifted with sounds, he spoke several southern Chinese dialects since childhood. He served as Chief Interpreter, among other official assignments, at the Hong Kong Civil Service for 35 years, and was the Editor of *China Review*, where he published many of his articles on the Chinese language. He compiled a series of Cantonese textbooks and several in-depth studies of southern dialects, including 順德, 東莞, 香山, 新會, 客家, etc.⁵ *Cantonese Made Easy* was first published in 1883, and it underwent another three rounds of revisions in 1888, 1907, and 1924. Evidently, the textbook received more than a warm welcome among students of Cantonese. Divided into 15 lessons, CME covers a wide variety of subjects, ranging from domestic living to nautical training, from monetary transactions to medical consultations, from ecclesiastical discussions to judicial hearings. Each lesson contains invariably 32 sentences, often cast in the form of a dialogue. Every lesson is given in (1) Chinese characters, and (2) Romanization, accompanied by (3) a word-for-word rendition, and also (4) a free translation. With great pride as a language pedagogue, Ball pronounces that “nothing will be found amongst the fifteen lessons but pure good colloquial.” (p. iii) There is also a long section on grammar at the end of the book, followed by an index. The book begins with a 44-page *Introduction* that focuses primarily on pronunciation.

2.2 CME shows a 22-initial system.

p	p ^ʰ	m	f	
t	t ^ʰ	n		l
ts	ts ^ʰ		s	
ch	ch ^ʰ		ch	y
k	k ^ʰ	ng	h	
kw	k ^ʰ w			w

Table 1: CME Initials (22)

In both technical terms and simple language, Ball gives a detailed description of the distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated words. (pp. xxxviii-xlii) That

⁴ See *Who was Who 1916-1928*.

⁵ For more of his publications, see 張日昇, 甘于恩 (1993).

distinction apparently must have proven difficult for English-speaking students to acquire. Other than aspiration, Ball accords little attention to the articulatory characteristics of individual consonants, apparently assuming that his readers would be able to pick up the values and differences in sound from the orthographic signs. He claims that “the orthography adopted in this book represented by similar sounds in English, etc., when such sounds exist...” (p. liv) Accordingly, the initials can be rewritten, in the IPA system, as follows:

p	p ^h	m	f	
t	t ^h	n		l
ts	ts^h		s	
tʃ	tʃ^h		ʃ	j
k	k ^h	ŋ	h	
kw	kw ^h			w

Table 2: CME Initials (22) (IPA)

To a 21st century speaker of Cantonese, Ball’s list of initials is unusual in that it contains two sets of affricates and fricatives: **ts/ts^h/s** vs. **tʃ/tʃ^h/ʃ**. In modern Standard Cantonese (SC), there is only one set, **ts**, as shown in the following table.⁶

p	p ^h	m	f	
t	t ^h	n		l
ts	ts^h		s	j
k	k ^h	ng	h	
kw	kw ^h			w

Table 3: Modern Cantonese Initials (19)

While CME makes no real attempt to define the phonetic differences between the two sets, the orthography itself may suffice to betray the approximate nature of the sounds. The first set seems to be more towards the dental or the alveolar end, while the latter more towards the palatal. Examples from CME are:

⁶ There is a new development in modern day Cantonese, where the affricates and fricative have undergone palatalization when appearing in front of certain round vowels, e.g. [y], [o], [u]. See 張洪年 (2003).

秋 ts'au	vs.	醜 ch'au
先 sin	vs.	扇 shan
歲 sui	vs.	水 shui
資 tsz	vs.	之 chi
私 sz	vs.	時 shi

In modern Standard Cantonese, both sets are pronounced with an alveolar. The coalescence, therefore, represents one major phonological development since the late 19th century. The dichotomy, nonetheless, was a reflection of an ancient phonological distinction,⁷ a distinction that was recorded in many of the 19th century manuals on Cantonese, including the 1828 Chinese-English dictionary by Robert Morrison, and the 1841 textbook, *Chinese Chrestomathy*, by E.C. Bridgman. The distinction may have disappeared in the language during the early 20th century. Even though some dictionaries of the 1950s maintained the distinction, it was admittedly an artificial differentiation not found in real speech.⁸

2.3 The final system in CME includes a total of 63 units, as listed in the following table. But, not all the finals listed are valid ones. A few of them are wrongly placed because of errors in Romanization.

	-i	-u	-m	-n	-ng	-p	-t	-k
á	ái	áu	ám	án	áng	áp	át	ák
a	ái	au	am	an	ang	ap	at	ak
	éi							
e					eng			ek
í		íu	ím	ín	íng	íp	ít	ík
i					ing			ik
z								
o	oi		om	on	ong		ot	ok
		ò	òm	òn		òp	òt	
ö					öng			ök
	ui			un	ung		ut	uk
ú	úi			ún			út	
ü				ün			üt	

⁷ There was a four-way distinction, in ancient Chinese, among initials generally referred to as 精, 莊, 知, and 章. Whereas the last one gave rise to *ch* in CME, the first three combined into *ts*. The two new sets were further reduced to one in the 20th century. See 陳萬成, 莫慧嫻 (1995).

⁸ See, for example, 黃錫凌 (1954).

m	ng							
---	----	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 4: CME Finals (63)

For example, the table makes a distinction between a long *á* and a short *a*. As noted elsewhere in the book, a short *a* does not constitute a full final in Cantonese, a phonotactic condition that explains why it should be removed from the table.⁹ Similar observations can be made of a few other pairs, like the long and short *i*, the open and the closed *o*, etc., all due to errors in orthography. And, with all the incorrect items removed, the inventory is left with 56 finals, as shown in Table 5.

2.4 For each of the vowels in his transcription, Ball gives a phonetic approximation vis-à-vis its counterpart in English, a correspondence that enables us to convert the system into an IPA format. For example, the sound “a” is compared to *u* as in the English word *sun*, hence [ʌ] or [a] in phonetic value. In contrast, the symbol “á” is described as *ah*, hence the long [a] in quality. When listed as an independent final, “ng” is referred to as *ng* as in *sing*, hence [ŋ].

	-i	-u	-m	-n	-ŋ	-p	-t	-k
a	aí	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
	ei	eu	em	en	eŋ	ep	et	ek
	ei							
ε					eŋ			ek
i		iu	im	in		ip	it	
					ŋ			rk
ɿ								
ɔ	ɔí			ɔn	ɔŋ		ɔt	ɔk
		ou	om			op		
œ					œŋ			œk
	əi			ən	uŋ		ət	øk
u	uí			un			ut	
y				yn			yt	
m	ŋ							

Table 5: CME Finals (56) (IPA)

⁹ Only three examples are marked with a short *a* in CME, all of which are given alternate readings with a long *á*. e.g. 加: *á* (p.12) vs. *a* (p. XXXIII).

2.4.1 The revised system can now be compared with that of modern Standard Cantonese (SC), with 53 finals, as shown in the following table. The three extra finals in CME are the apical final, and the two finals with the long *ó*.

	-i	-u	-m	-n	-ŋ	-p	-t	-k
a	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
	ɛi	ɛu	ɛm	ɛn	ɛŋ	ɛp	ɛt	ɛk
ɛ					ɛŋ			ɛk
	ei							
i		iu	im	in		ip	it	
					ɪŋ			ɪk
ɔ	ɔi			ɔn	ɔŋ		ɔt	ɔk
		ou						
œ					œŋ			œk
	øi			øn			øt	
u	ui			un			ut	
					ʊŋ			ʊk
y				yn			yt	
m	ŋ							

Table 6: Modern Cantonese Finals (53)

2.4.2 The apical final *z* in CME appears exclusively with the dental affricates and fricative, *ts*, *ts'*, and *s*. Its counterpart in SC is a simple [i]. Examples are:

	自	慈柿似	師死四
CME	tsz	ts'z	sz
SC	tsi	ts'i	si

The apical variety was at one time quite prevalent in Guangzhou, especially in the 西關 Xiguan area. Ball writes that while “even in the city of Canton itself, the seat and centre of pure Cantonese, more than one pronunciation of words is used; the standard, however, being the **Sai Kwan wa** (西關話), or West end speech, to which the learner should endeavor to assimilate his talk.” (p. xv) Indeed, it was this pronunciation that Ball endeavors to give in CME, a standard that he sets up for Cantonese. The apical

series subsequently lost its prominence, merging with the regular *-i* without exception.

2.4.3 The pair of finals with ∂ , namely ∂m [om] and ∂p [op], no longer exist in modern Standard Cantonese. Examples from CME are:

∂m	甘敢噉咁紺含砍頷憾
∂p	合蛤

Historically, these ∂ -words were members of 咸攝 of the first division. In ancient Chinese, words were classified into four divisions (等) according to the quality of their vowels. Cantonese has been hailed as one of the few dialects that still maintain that vocalic distinction, especially between the first (一等) and the second divisions (二等). As shown below, words of 一等 are now pronounced with an open [ɔ], and those of 二等 with an [a].

	果假	蟹	山	宕梗	咸
一等	歌	蓋	干 葛	剛 各	甘 合
	ɔ	ɔi	ɔn ɔt	ɔŋ ɔk	ɐm ɐp
二等	家	佳	間 軋	更 格	監 甲
	a	ai	an at	aŋ ak	am ap

In contrast with the other rime categories (攝), where there is a constant 等 differentiation between [ɔ] and [a] in Cantonese, 咸攝 shows [ɐ] for its 一等, a rather unusual rendition in terms of the symmetry across different 攝 categories. Yet, CME provides an [o] rendition, which could be easily traced to an [ɔ] in even earlier sources such as Bridgman's *Chrestomathy* of 1841 (see 張洪年 2003). In other words, just like its counterparts with other endings, 咸攝一等 was pronounced with an [ɔ] at one point in time. The change from [ɔ], via [o], to [ɐ] can be charted out as follows:

$\boxed{\text{ɔm}}$	→	$\boxed{\text{om}}$	→	$\boxed{\text{ɐm}}$
Chrestomathy		CME		
1841		1888		20 th century

As words of 咸攝 end with a bilabial *-m* ending, the unrounding development from [ɔ] to [ɐ] can be easily understood as a process of dissimilation.

2.4.4 All in all, except for the three additional finals, the CME system is essentially identical with what we find in modern Standard Cantonese.

2.5 In terms of tones, CME lists a total of nine tones, divided into two series, the upper and the lower registers. The tones are marked diacritically, with little half circles placed at the four corners of a syllable. The lower series shows an additional stroke under the half-circle.

上平	˘sín	下平	˘sín
上上	˘˘sín	下上	˘˘sín
上去	sín˘	下去	sín˘
上入	sít˘	中入	sít˘
		下入	sít˘˘

Table 7: CME Tones (9)

Compared with other linguistic pedagogues of his time, Ball should be credited for his unusual sensitivity to tones in Cantonese¹⁰ and, for his extra efforts to teach these tones and their variations by producing detailed notes and multiple tonic exercises. The following are the descriptions he provides for some of the tones: (pp. xxiv-xxviii)

- 上平: a monotone, without elevation or depression.
- 下平: an octave lower than 上平
- 上上: gradually ascending
- 下上: starts from a lower pitch, does not ascend so high
- 上去: a prolonged tone, diminishing while it is uttered
- 下去: nearer a monotone, not so gruff
- 入: peculiar abruptness in enunciation in these words that end in k, p, and t.

While not much is said about the differences among the three kinds of 入, it is noted that most of the words having long vowels belong to 中入 and “the other as well as some words with long vowels belong to 上入 or 下入.” (p. xxvii)

The nine tone system remains almost intact in present day Cantonese. Although Ball provides little concrete information about the actual pitch height or contour of any of the tones, his impressionistic descriptions as outlined in CME and elsewhere are very much the same as what we know about SC at least of the 20th century. On the other hand, Ball goes into great details about the changed tone situation in Cantonese, a situation that is too complex to delve into in this paper. Again, what he reported about the

¹⁰ In his 1828 publication, *A Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect*, R. Morrison did not include any tone marking in his Romanization.

changed tone then is still very much valid for characterizing the language in the 20th century.¹¹

3. *Chinese and English Phrase Book*

We shall now turn to *Chinese and English Phrase Book*, which according to the title was based upon the Canton dialect of the same period as CME. As mentioned before, the phonological system in PB is quite different from that in CME. To recapitulate, PB consists of 20 initials, 55 finals, and eight tones. The following provides a more in-depth investigation of the PB phonology.

3.1 The initials in PB include:

p	p'	m	f	
t	t'	n		l
ch	ch'	sh	s	y
k	k'	ng	h	
kw	kw'			w

Table 8: PB Initials (20)

3.1.1 Unlike CME, where there are two sets of affricates and fricatives, PB gives only one set, namely, **ch**, **ch'** and **s**. There is only one occurrence of **sh**, which is most likely an error; hence the contrast between **s** and **sh** is negligible. The manual notes that **ch**, when unaspirated, is pronounced more softly than in English, approaching closely the sound of **j** in *joint*. Likewise, for **s**, “instead of the hard sound of **s**, heard in the word *so*, ...the sound heard is nearly as *show*.” (p. ii) In other words, the set should be more like the palatals **ch-ch'-sh** in CME than the dentals **ts-ts'-s**. The two-way distinction that is so prominent in CME disappears completely in PB. This is one characteristic feature of the PB sound system.

3.1.2 The PB initials can now be converted into the IPA system:

¹¹ For a detailed discussion of changed tones in CME, see 張洪年 (2000).

p	p'	m	f	
t	t'	n		l
tʃ	tʃ'	ɲ		j
k	k'	ŋ	h	
kw	kw'			w

Table 9: PB Initials (19) (IPA)

3.1.3 Another characteristic feature of the PB language pertains to the velar initial η -. The following are two lists of η -words in PB and their correspondences in CME and in Standard Cantonese:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
外我硬眼牛衙	η -	η -	η -
魚月熱二而如	η -	j-	j-

The first list are words, historically of the 疑 initial, that have retained η - in all three forms of speech. The second list includes words of both historical 疑 and 日 initials, but are pronounced with η - only in PB. The situation in CME, which has been evidently inherited by modern Cantonese, represents a development in which η - disappears before high front vowels.

η -	→	0 / __ high front vowel
	→	η

But, why is it that PB and CME of the same period exhibited two diverse developments, exclusive of each other? Had there been alternate readings found in the same text, that alternation could be construed as an indication of an on-going sound change? But, there seems to be no exception and the readings in the two manuals are kept strictly apart.

3.1.4 The third feature pertains to a distinction between the velars and the labialized velars, i.e. k -/ k' - and kw / $k'w$ -. While both manuals seem to share the same set, the distribution is not quite identical. Compare the following words:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>
間	kan	kan
關	kwan	kwan
剛港講	kong	kong

光廣	kong	kwong
廊	k'ong	(k'wong)
角	kok	kok
國	kok	kwok

It is evident that, before the vowel *o*, a labialized velar becomes delabialized in PB.¹²

3.1.5 There are altogether three differences in the initial system between the two manuals. How do we account for these differences? Can they be considered to represent a new trend in development, the precursor of phenomena that would become prevalent in the following decades? Or, could PB in fact represent a different variety of Cantonese, which did not share the same phonology with CME?

3.2 On the finals, PB has a total of 55 finals, now listed below.

	-i	-u	-m	-n	-ng	-p	-t	-k
á	ái	áu	ám	án	áng	áp	át	ák
	ai	au	am	an	ang	ap	at	ak
e					eng			ek
ye								
eu					eun			euk
i		iu	im	in	ing	ip	it	ik
u	ui		um	un	ung		ut	uk
ü				ün			üt	
o	oi		om	on	ong		ot	ok
ó			óm			óp		ók
m	ng							

Table 10: PB Finals (55)

3.2.1 Though not as detailed as in CME, the phonological notes in PB give us a general idea of what the vowels stand for in the language. For example, *a* pronounced

¹² A similar development is under way in contemporary Hong Kong Cantonese.

as *u* in *fun*, hence [ʌ], and *â* as *a* in *father*, hence [a].¹³ Based on this pronunciation guide, we can reproduce the above Table with an IPA format. Three of the finals are questionable and will be removed from the inventory. They are: (1) *um*, with only one example (斟), whose pronunciation should have been *am*; (2) *om*, with only one example (咁), whose pronunciation should have been *óm*, and (3) *ók*, though with 12 examples, which evidently was mixed up with *uk*. Most of the words marked with *ók* and *uk* are of the same historical origin, and are not distinguished in any of the Cantonese dialects. The revised system now includes a total of 51 finals, five less than that in CME. Aside from this inventory, there are also distributional differences between the two systems.

	-i	-u	-m	-n	-ŋ	-p	-t	-k
a	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
	æi	æu	æm	æn	æŋ	æp	æt	æk
ɛ					ɛŋ			
jɛ								
œ					œŋ			œk
i		iu	im	in	iŋ	ip	it	ik
u	ui			un	uŋ		ut	uk
y				yn			yt	
ɔ	ɔi			ɔn	ɔŋ		ɔt	ɔk
		ou	om			op		
m	ŋ							

Table 11: PB Finals (51) (IPA)

¹³ For details, see pp. ii-iii. Some of the notes may take a bit of guessing. For example, “*eu* pronounced like the vowel sounds in *person*, but with no stress on the first one and very rapidly so that the two sounds almost blend into one.” Mostly likely, the symbol stands for [œ], a sound that is wanting in the English vowel system.

3.2.2 As PB contains no dental affricate or fricative, there is no apical z [ɿ] to form a matching final. As the following examples illustrate, the apical final in CME is replaced by a regular [i], as in modern Cantonese:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>
資子字	chi	tsz
祠詞似	ch'i	ts'z
司死四	si	sz

3.2.3 One characteristic feature of the PB final system is its lack of the diphthong [ei], as found in CME and also in modern Standard Cantonese (SC). All words with *ei* in CME are found to be pronounced with the vowel [i].¹⁴ Examples are:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
俾皮美未 (p-)	i	ei	ei
地你利李 (t-)	i	ei	ei
幾企起氣 (k-)	i	ei	ei

3.2.4 The final [y] in PB corresponds to two groups in CME:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
(a) 書處樹豬珠主住如魚雨語寓 (ch-, 0-)	y	y	y
(b) 句舉佢女去 (k-, n-, h-)	y	œi	œi

3.2.5 Similarly, the final [u] in PB often contrasts with [ou] in CME. Its appearances correspond to essentially two groups of words in CME and SC:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
(a) 夫苦咐父古壺 (f-, k-, w-)	u	u	u
(b) 舖務母都渡爐路做 (p-, t-, ts-)	u	ou	ou

Occasionally, there are words with dual readings, e.g. 霧: *mu* and *mou*. Transliterations also offer interesting examples with an alternation between *u* and *ou*. For example, 布朗, for *Brown*, is Romanized as both [pou-lɔŋ] (p.83) and [pu-lɔŋ] (p. 109).

It may be concluded that diphthongization is one major difference between the two sound systems. All three monothong finals, *i*, *y*, and *u* in PB are rendered with a

¹⁴ It should be noted that in earlier Cantonese records, such as Morrison (1828) and Bridgman (1841), *ei*-words were pronounced with *i*.

vowel split in CME, becoming *ei*, *øi* and *ou*.

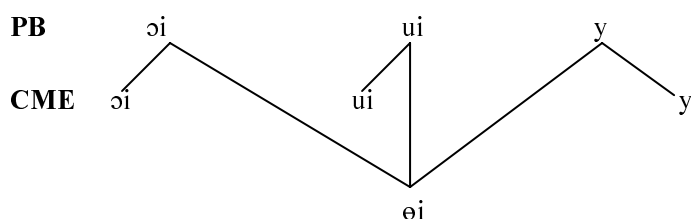
3.2.6 The final [ɔi] corresponds to two different finals in CME.

	PB	CME	SC
(a) 代檯耐來在再外開海愛 (t-, k-)	ɔi	ɔi	ɔi
(b) 水誰歲 (ch-)	ɔi	øi	øi

3.2.7 The final [ui] corresponds to two different finals in CME.

	PB	CME	SC
(a) 杯賠每灰回會 (p-, f-, 0)	ui	ui	ui
(b) 對雷稅吹 (t-, ch-)	ui	øi	øi

In other words, the three PB finals described above, namely [y], [ɔi] and [ui], each corresponds to two different finals in CME and SC, one being identical with the one in PB and the other, namely [øi], a final that does not exist in PB.



3.2.8 [ɐn] and [ɛt]: The final [ɐn] in PB corresponds to [ɐn] and [ən] in CME, and also in SC. Examples are:

	PB	CME	SC
(a) 濱文分吞申 伸身新晨神真珍 親緊銀軍裙人因	ɐn	ɐn	ɐn
(b) 噸頓信樽	ɛn	ən	ən

Words in (a) and (b), though both pronounced with [ɐn] in PB, are rendered differently in CME as well as in Standard Cantonese: (1) as [ɐn] and (2) as [ən]. Likewise, corresponding to [ɛt] in PB, there are two CME forms, [ɛt] and [ət]. Historically, the words were by and large of the same origin, namely 臻攝. The condition for

differentiation in CME is unclear.

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
(c) 七	ɐt	ɐt	ɐt
(d) 出	ɐt	ət	ət

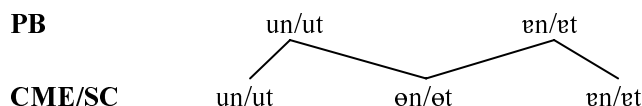
3.2.9 [un] and [ut]: Adding to the complexity of the preceding picture is that words of the [un] category in PB also fall into two groups, one corresponding to [un] in CME and SC, and the other to [ɐn]. Examples are:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
(a) 搬滿官半 本門碗換	un	un	un
(b) 倫樽準春	un	ɐn	ən

There is only one example of [ut], which corresponds to [ət] in CME/SC.

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
(c) 律	ut	ət	ət

In other words, the dichotomy between [un/ut] and [ɐn/ət] in PB translates into a three-way distinction in CME and SC:



Again, the conditions that allow the overlapping of the two groups of finals in CME remain to be worked out. A number of words in PB could have both readings of [un] and [ɐn], e.g. 樽, *chun* and *chan*. The corresponding form in CME is [ɐn].

3.2.10 [ɐŋ] and [ɐk]: The following words demonstrate pronunciations that are drastically different between PB and CME/SC.

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>	<u>SC</u>
請	ch'ɐŋ	ts'ɪŋ, ts'ɛŋ	ts'ɪŋ, ts'ɛŋ
等	ɐŋ, ɛŋ, ɪŋ	ɐŋ	ɐŋ
力	lɐk	lɪk	lɪk

石	sək, sek	shək	sek
食	sək	shik	sik
識	sək	shik	sik

In CME, these words may have two pronunciations, [ɪŋ] and [ɛŋ], a distinction often referred to as that between the literary and the colloquial readings. That stylistic differentiation is quite apparent in CME. In PB, the dominant form of reading is neither [ɪŋ] nor [ɛŋ], but rather [ɐŋ]. It is interesting to note that the last name, *Black*, is transliterated as 布力 [pu lek], a rendition that would be closer to the original English pronunciation than the reading [pu lik] in the CME system.

3.2.11 ye [jɛ]: This is a very unusual final, with only two words: 些 and 寫. Romanized as *syɛ*, both words are probably pronounced like [sɪɛ], with *-i-* serving as a medial. The inclusion of a medial *-i-* is non-existent in CME or in SC.

3.3 Tones PB shows a rather simple tonal system, with a total of eight tones, four in a higher register and four in a lower register. The two registers are separated, according to the authors, by two or more full musical keys. (p.xx) The first tone is described as an even monotone, the second tone a rising tone, the third tone with a dropping intonation, and the fourth tone with an abrupt termination. Tones are marked in the following manner:

For the upper tones commas are used, and are placed at one of the angles of the word....The lower tones are indicated in the same manner by a period at one of the four corners of the word. (p. iv)

There is no mention of or reference to changed tones in the language.

3.4 The above is a general description of the sound system in PB, which is indeed very different from CME. The differences in inventory are summarized below:

	<u>PB</u>	<u>CME</u>
Initials:	19	22
Finals:	51	56
Tones:	8	9 + changed tones

Table 12: Comparison between PB and CME

In section 2, we observed a close resemblance between CME and modern Standard Cantonese (SC), a resemblance that suggests a close relation, one probably of derivation, between the two systems. The relationship between PB and SC is, however, less apparent. If the two manuals, both of the same period, differ in a great many aspects in their efforts to render Cantonese, then what was the speech that PB adopted as the representative of the city of Canton? The authors of PB claim:

The language of the book is not the official Chinese, the so called Mandarin, but the dialect spoken by the natives of Canton and its vicinity, from which province come the greater number of the Chinese in America. (p. i)

They are aware of the differences in pronunciation between what they give and what is taught elsewhere; nonetheless, they reiterate that:

...the sound here given, however, both vowel and consonantal, are those given to the words by most of the Cantonese resident in New York. (p. i)

At times, they admit that [ou] and [u], and also [ɔi] and [ui], are often interchangeable:

A word having the **ó** (i.e. [ou]) sound in one village being pronounced **u** in another village, and the one in which the diphthongal sound **oi** (i.e. ɔi) being heard as **ui**. The same is true of **i** and **e** (i.e. [ei]).¹⁵ (p. ii)

The reference to the village pronunciation might suggest a dialectal influence on the PB compilation, a factor that could have contributed to its phonology, thereby setting it apart from the kind of Cantonese as presented in CME.

3.5 To further examine the phonological nature of the PB language, we will first summarize the special features that distinguish it from that of CME:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | <i>ɲ</i> - before high front vowel | 二魚 |
| 2. | <i>k</i> - instead of <i>kw</i> - before [ɔ] | 光國 |
| 3. | one set of <i>ch</i> [tʃ], <i>ch</i> ' [tʃ] and <i>s</i> [ʃ] | |
| 4. | [i]- instead of apical <i>z</i> [ɹ] | 資詞司 |
| 5. | [i-] instead of [ei-] | 氣美 |
| 6. | [ɐn]/[ɐt] instead of [ən]/[et] | 信出 |

¹⁵ The IPA forms are supplied by me.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----|
| 7. | [un]/[ut] instead of [øn]/[øt] | 春律 |
| 8. | [eŋ]/[ek] instead of [ɪŋ]/[ɪk] | 請力 |
| 9. | ye [jɛ] | 寫些 |
| 10. | [u] instead of [ou] | 舖做 |
| 11. | [ɔi] instead of [øi] | 水歲 |
| 12. | [ui] instead of [øi] | 對吹 |
| 13. | [y] instead of [øi] | 渠去 |
| 14. | 8 tones instead of 9 tones | |

Table 13: Special Features in PB

We have taken each and every one of these features and compared their pronunciations in both PB and CME with their modern renditions in eleven major cities around Canton. Dialectal readings are based upon *珠江三角洲方言字音對照* (張日昇、詹伯慧 1987). The following are two examples of such a comparison.

	二	月	語	業
廣州	ji22	jyt22	jy13	jip22
番禺	ji22	jyt22	jy13	jip22
南海	ji22	jyt22	jy13	jip22
順德	ji21	jyt21	jy13	hip21
中山	ŋi33	ŋyt33	ŋy213	ŋip33
珠海	ŋi33	yt33	y13	ɪp33
PB	ŋi22	ŋyt22	ŋy13	ŋip22
斗門	ŋgi31	ŋgit21	ŋgi21	ŋgip21
江門	ji31	(j)iat21	ji21	(j)iap21
新會	ŋgi31	ŋgit21	ŋgi21	ŋgip21
台山	ŋgei31	ŋgut21	ŋgui21	ŋgiap21
東莞	zi32	zøt21	zy13	zit22

Table 14: Readings of *ɲ* in PB and 11 Modern Cantonese Dialects.

	光	國	廣
廣州	kuɔŋ ⁵⁵	kuɔk ³³	kuɔŋ ³⁵
番禺	kuɔŋ ⁵³	kuɔk ³³	kuɔŋ ³⁵
南海	kuɔŋ ⁵⁵	kuɔk ³³	kuɔŋ ³⁵
順德	kuɔŋ ⁵³	kuɔk ³³	kuɔŋ ²⁴
中山	kɔŋ ⁵⁵	kɔk ³³	kɔŋ ²¹³
珠海	kɔŋ ⁵⁵	kɔk ³³	kɔŋ ¹³
PB	kɔŋ⁵⁵	kɔk³³	kɔŋ³⁵
斗門	kɔŋ ³³	kɔk ⁵⁵	kɔŋ ⁵⁵
江門	kuəŋ ²³	kuak ⁵⁵	kuəŋ ⁴⁵
新會	kɔŋ ²³	kɔk ⁵⁵	kɔŋ ⁴⁵
台山	kɔŋ ³³	kɔk ⁵⁵	kɔŋ ⁵⁵
東莞	kuɔŋ ⁵⁵	kuɔk ²²⁴	kuɔŋ ³⁵

Table 15: Readings of *kw*- in PB and 11 Modern Cantonese Dialects

The comparison yields interesting results. As expected, Guangzhou shows little resemblance to PB in most of the sound categories. The dialect that seems to bear the closest affinity to PB is the Zhongshan 中山 dialect, one of the major dialects in the Pearl River Delta, also spoken in Zhuhai 珠海 and Aomen 澳門. The following table lists the behaviors of most of the special features noted above¹⁶ and illustrates (1) the

¹⁶ Of the 14 features listed in Table 13, only ten prominent ones have been included in Table 16. None of the dialects surveyed exhibits a two-way contrast between dental and palatal affricates/fricatives, a lack that actually is characteristic of the PB language. And, because of the absence of a dental set of affricates/fricative, none of the dialects possesses an apical vowel, a phenomenon that is also found in PB. Like PB, a few dialects offer a medial [-j-], e.g. 寫 [sia] in 新會; but the presence of [-j-] is very limited in PB. Lastly, because of the complications in tonal renditions, tone is not included in the comparison.

correspondences between PB and Zhongshan/Zhuhai, and (2) those between CME and Standard Cantonese spoken in Guangzhou/Hong Kong.¹⁷ In addition, Taishan 台山 pronunciations are attached for comparison.

	PB	中山/珠海	CME	廣州/香港	台山
ŋ -- 0	ŋ	ŋ	0	0	ŋ
kw -- k	k	k	kw	kw	k
i -- ei	i	i	ei	ei	ei
y -- øy	y	y	øy	øy	øy
u -- ou	u	u	ou	ou	u
ui -- ə	ui	ui	øy	øy	ui
un -- ə	un	ən	ən	ən	un
ən -- ə	ən	ən	ən	ən	m
ɔi -- ə	ɔi	øy	øy	øy	ui
ɛŋ -- ɪŋ	ɛŋ	ɛŋ	ɪŋ	ɪŋ	en

Table 16: Special PB Features and their Correspondences in Other Dialects

The table juxtaposes PB with Zhongshan / Zhuhai on the left, and CME and Guangzhou/Hong Kong on the right. The juxtaposition highlights the differences between PB and CME, differences that are reflected in the contrast between modern Zhongshan and Guangzhou. The juxtaposition also confirms our earlier speculation that the Guangzhou/Hong Kong Cantonese is a derivative of the CME system. Would it also suggest that PB represent not so much the language of Canton but rather a variety of the Zhongshan dialect of the 19th century?

3.6 As noted at the beginning of this paper, PB was published in New York in 1888. As such, the language manual could reflect the local speech habit of the overseas Chinese community at that early period. According to recent studies of the history of Chinese immigration, a large number of the early settlers in New York were from the 四邑 area of the Pearl River Delta.¹⁸ If that was the case, it would be the 台山 dialect, for example, that informed the compilation and not the Zhongshang dialect. “Zhongshanese were a majority in Hawaii, but not in the continental USA.”¹⁹ Table 16

¹⁷ Standard Cantonese in Hong Kong is essentially identical with that of Guangzhou.

¹⁸ See, for example, Xinyang Wang, *Surviving the City: The Chinese Immigrant Experience in New York, 1890-1970*, 2001.

¹⁹ Xinyang Wang, personal communication.

displays, however, many differences between PB and the 台山 speech.

In 1897, Dyer Ball, writer of CME, published a long article on the dialect of Zhongshan (ZS), formerly known as Hongshan (HS). Entitled “The Hong Shan or Macao Dialect”, the article provides a detailed description of the Zhongshan phonology and lists features that distinguish ZS from Cantonese. Many of these special features are characteristic of the PB language. They include:

1. **kw-** dropped throughout the Hongs Shan district;
2. **ŋ**-instead of the zero initial in words such as 二;
3. HS **i** vs. Canton **ei**;
4. HS **ɐŋ** vs. Canton **iŋ**, e.g. 請;
5. HS **y** vs. Canton **oi**, e.g. 佢;
6. HS **ui** vs. Canton **oi**;
7. The inclusion of a medial **-i-**;
8. The **ch-ch'-s** series: The distinction between **ch-** and **ts-** is gone, and the **ts-** sound predominates in the Hong Shan dialect (p. 507). When standing before high front vowels, e.g. **i, ɛ, y, ɐ**, the consonants may sound more like **ch-**;
9. An eight-tone system

Hence, both historically and also based on a comparison with other modern Cantonese dialects, our investigation clearly points to the Zhongshan language as the closest to the PB system.

3.7 A textbook designed to teach the Canton dialect, PB was compiled by two authors, T.L. Stedman and K.P. Lee. Who were they? What were their individual language backgrounds? Were they professional language pedagogues? That knowledge could prove crucial to our understanding of the phonological nature of their joint efforts. There was, however, little reference to either author in the manual. Other sources provide the following biographical sketches.

Stedman's full name is Thomas Lathrop Stedman, (1853-1938).²⁰ Born in Cincinnati, he received his MD from Columbia in 1877, and worked as a doctor in New York all his life. He was the author of a series of medical books and dictionaries, including *A Practical Medical Dictionary*, which is now in its 27th edition, also available on the web. Also an editor of a number of major reference handbooks in medical sciences, Stedman was exceptionally successful in his field. Adding to his

²⁰ See *Who Was Who in America: A Companion Volume to Who's Who in America*, Volume 1:1897-1942. Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1962.

academic credit was the 1888 language textbook, *A Chinese and English Phrase Book in the Canton Dialect*, which he co-authored with K.P. Lee. We do not know much about Stedman's language background, how much Cantonese he knew, when and where he studied Chinese, if any, and what prompted him to compile a textbook that seemed not so much to cater to the professional needs in the medical field as to the linguistic interests of a general readership. As stated in the preface of the manual, PB was originally

... conceived with the design of furnishing to the Chinese, residing in this country, the means of acquiring an elementary knowledge of English, such as would be of use to them in their intercourse with our own people. With this object in view the subjects have been those of everyday use and the sentences have been made as brief as possible and are expressed in simple language. The pronunciation of everyday English word is indicated in Chinese characters placed immediately beneath it. (p. i)

In other words, PB was initially intended to be an English language textbook for the Chinese immigrants in the United States, a manual whose function was characterized by its Chinese title, 英語不求人 'Self-taught English'. However, as the project was in progress, the authors came to realize that the manual might be "made serviceable to English speaking persons who, for commercial, missionary or philological purposes, desired to acquire some knowledge of Cantonese." (p. i) And, for that reason, Roman characters were added to the Chinese translations as indication of the pronunciations in the Canton dialect.

His co-author, K.P. Lee 李桂攀, wrote a Chinese introduction to the manual, in which he highlighted the dual purposes of the book, a primer that taught English on paper as if in person, a primer that could also benefit the westerners when they wished to study Chinese. (p. v) According to the little biographical materials we have been able to gather (錢鋼, 胡勁草 2003), Mr. Lee was on a government scholarship when he went to study in the United States at a young age. He was a fellow classmate of 詹天佑 Zhan Tianyou, who would become the famous engineer of the late 19th century. Mr. Lee seemed to have gone back to China after graduation, but he subsequently returned to the U.S., where he resided in New York until his death. Our knowledge of his story ends here. We don't know where he went to school, what he did for a living, etc. But, we do have a piece of very vital information that will help us decide on the linguistic nature of the language manual, information that will help us understand why the book does not seem to record a language that can be called the dialect of Canton. Mr. Lee was a man from Zhongshan. When the manual he took part to compile claimed to represent the

dialect of the Chinese immigrants in New York, that representation could be more of the Zhongshan speech community than the Canton dialect as stated in the book title.

So, on that note, we seem to have resolved the puzzle. The story, after all, is not about “one language, two systems”; rather, it pertains to two dialects, two systems.

Our job, however, is not quite done yet. While PB seems to have included a large number of ZS features, it is not a genuine Zhongshan language. According to the study by Ball in 1897, there are many other important ZS features that are missing in PB, including:

1. ZS has a 6-tone system: 上平, 下平, 上去 (= 下去), 上上 (= 下上), 上入, and 下入. Recent studies also report a 6-tone system.²¹ PB, on the other hand, lists eight tones, with 平上去入 each divided into two.

2. In ZS, *h-* takes the place of the initial *f-* in Cantonese when appearing before finals with a *u/ʊ* vowel. PB, however, behaves like the CME Cantonese instead and systematically shows an *f-*. Examples are:

	夫	歡	灰	風	福
ZS	hu	hun	hui	huŋ	huk
PB	fu	fun	fui	fuŋ	fuk
(CME)	f-	f-	f-	f-	f-

3. According to Ball and YR Chao (1948) who worked on ZS of the early 20th century, there was a medial *-i-* with a number of finals in ZS, e.g. *iau* (求), *iem* (金), *iaŋ* (請), etc. PB shows no *-i-* in these readings. The only example we have that may be taken as a medial is the syllable, *syɛ*, transcribed here as *siɛ*, for 些 and 寫. Both words are given an alternate reading without *-i-*. Modern ZS gives *sɛ*, but Chao gives *sia*.

4. Corresponding to *iŋ/ɪk* in Cantonese, Zhongshan shows *ɐŋ/ɛk*, which is a feature we have already observed above. Yet, PB often gives dual readings for these words, e.g.

請早日再來坐.	ch'ang	(p. 9)
我想再請一個.	ch'ing	(p. 116)
來得我處食飯嗎?	sak	(p. 23)
我哋食便飯啫	sik	(p. 111)

²¹ For example, see 詹伯慧, 張日昇 (1987).

Does the co-listing imply that PB, though earlier than Ball's work, was already showing a change in the ZS pronunciation? Or, could it have recorded two different readings actually from different dialects, with *ɿŋ* being borrowed from Cantonese?

So, what language does PB represent? If we have to choose one dialect that closely matches what we have observed in the manual, without a doubt, that dialect would have to be Zhongshan. On the other hand, there are a few Cantonese features that seem to have crawled into that speech, giving it a flavor of the CME dialect, which on all counts is based upon the dialect of the City of Canton. In his work on the Hong Shan dialect, Ball suggests a lexical item as a test case that would distinguish ZS from Cantonese. For the word "who", ZS uses 邊誰, whereas Cantonese prefers 乜誰. In PB, both terms appear, but 邊誰 is used only once.

你想寫信去邊誰啞? (p. 39)

乜誰係傳道人呢? (p. 55)

Our project began with a query of the validity of two different phonological systems for the same language in Canton, a scenario that appears highly suspicious, if not at all impossible. After a much round-about investigation and comparison, we seem to conclude that while CME might be genuinely Cantonese, PB probably represents a dialect that was most likely 中山. Features of other dialects or Cantonese might have also left imprints on the make-up of this dialect. So, who were the true speakers of the PB language, 乜誰 or 邊誰? Where were they from? What was their true linguistic identity?

4. Conclusion

This paper hopes to demonstrate, by way of comparing two 1888 language manuals, how very labor intensive it is to conduct a textual cum historical study on an ancient language. We need to apply meticulous efforts to comb through the old materials if we are to use them as a gauge of the evolution, as a window to the past. That window may have opened to a different scene or scenery, and not necessarily the one that we have hoped to look into. There could be a slight shift in time or space, and our observations could also be shifted in turn. The picture may not be of the space or time frame that we thought we had identified. Historical sources are not often as innocently reliable as they seem, and we must handle them with care and discretion. In this project, we have examined a book that claims to be based upon the Canton dialect and that indeed appears at least on the surface very Cantonese, and we conclude that it is in fact based most probably on a dialect or dialects other than Cantonese. We

need to read and understand with a grain of salt, rub it in if necessary, and see what lies beneath the surface. Yes, it may hurt, but not as painful as we would otherwise find out if we were to build our entire theory on erroneous impressions or assumptions. We used to think that PB played just as important and valuable a role as CME in helping us reconstruct the past of the Cantonese language. We are not so sure anymore. But, to what extent do we know that our speculations about the linguistic background of PB are valid? We will have to rely on more materials and more critical studies of these materials to arrive at a conclusion, if any. Like any line of historical investigation, our work is both tempting and challenging, rewarding at times, and frustrating, most of the time. The past is in the past, and we will never be able to bring that past fully to the present. Yet, as more materials surface, we strive forward, or backward in time, and we hope that our efforts will bring us another step closer to reconstructing that historical truth.

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一語兩制： 1888 年兩本粵語教科書的語音研究

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1888 年有兩本粵語教科書同時面世，一本是居港英國人 D. Ball 編寫的 *Cantonese Made Easy* (CME)，一本是美國人 T.L. Stedman 和李桂攀在紐約合編出版的 *A Chinese and English in the Canton Dialect* (PB)。兩書採取羅馬拼音教學，每字每句都一一註明聲韻調，是研究早期粵語音韻史的寶貴材料。兩書在前言中都說明所授粵語以廣州話為準。但是細較之下，音系頗有出入。本文排比兩書記音材料，歸納出 CME 有 22 聲母，56 韻母，9 聲調，與今日標準粵語系統大致相同。而 PB 則有 19 聲母，51 韻母，8 聲調，顯然不屬於廣州音系。PB 紀錄的究竟是哪一種粵方言？本文翻查當日其他粵音材料，又與今日珠江三角洲方言比較，以為 PB 音系與中山方言頗多相似之處，而 PB 的作者李桂攀正是中山人。

關鍵詞：早期粵語，歷史音韻，方言語音，語言教科書

Syntactic Typology in Chinese (Part I): The Neutral Question Forms—V-not-V *

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1. Introduction

Typology is concerned with the classification of types of structures observed in human languages, be they phonological, morphological or syntactic. The goal of a typological study is to observe divergence and similarity in patterning for certain structures, their distribution and their possible correlation with other attributes. On the basis of such patterning typological classification of languages can be made. Although such classification of patterns does not necessarily constitute a genetic relationship among the languages sharing these traits, such shared formal features commonly occur in either genetically related or areally close languages. The significance of a typological study may shed light on the question of language universals, while dialectology can provide the necessary data for a typological study. From typological research, formal features across languages are observed and classified, creating a massive database for identifying and establishing linguistic characteristics common across languages. Greenberg's study on word order on the sentence and on the phrase level across some thirty languages has led to his formulation of language universals concerning not only the types of word order such as SVO, SOV, VSO, etc. but also the relationship of this

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feature to other features such as the ordering of elements in a modifying clause, establishing another claim that SOV languages are usually postpositional.¹ The source for a typological database is in turn provided through dialectological study. Although the relationship between typology and language universals has been quickly acknowledged by linguists working in this twin-field, the relationship between typology and dialectology has yet to be fully recognized. Walter Bisang (Bisang 2004:12), in his chapter on dialectology and typology, aptly points out that:

Dialectologists and typologists have both worked for a long time on linguistic variation without paying too much attention to each other. This may be due to the fact that dialectologists concentrate on social and historical motivations of variation across dialects, whereas typologists are interested in universal patterns of variation across languages and their motivation by human cognition and discourse.

and he presents an integrated perspective on the two.

In the past four decades, there appeared masses of materials on various Chinese dialects geared toward providing a general descriptive datum of individual dialects focusing more on phonological than syntactic aspects. It is time that we evaluate these collections and refine our description of the data so as to provide detailed and accurate materials for investigating various linguistic problems that are of general interest to both comparative and typological studies. General linguistic studies across the “world’s languages” have either left out Chinese or have included it only in a superficial manner. The blame lies not so much on those who conduct such research as on us in the Chinese field for not providing the information. Chinese in its myriad varieties, spoken by the greatest number of people in the world, can and should contribute to the general knowledge of the linguistic world. Certainly any kind of general statement about “languages of the world” is not universal without Chinese.

As a modest first step toward providing information, this paper attempts to explore patterning in three grammatical constructions across a number of Chinese dialects and invites discussion on their typological significance, with the final goal of extending the study to include Sino-Tibetan languages. Research in the neutral question forms, the attributive and the nominalized structures of over one hundred Chinese dialects has uncovered some interesting typological features across the Chinese language. However, as there are countless other dialects, whose information remains scanty and inadequate, our observations are at best tentative.²

¹ See Greenberg (1963) for details.

² Information on the Chinese dialects with respect to the syntactic structures in question is

The main obstacle to typological research is the lack of detailed and informative data both in quantity and quality. It is hoped that by taking a first step in this direction with whatever limited data available, we will attract the attention and interest of more field linguists to this important field.

One major problem in describing the typological layout of various languages is that linguistic features, be they syntactic, phonological, morphological or lexical, are in a state of constant flux. This is particularly true of Chinese dialects in the past half century when the standard form of the Chinese language (*Putonghua*), modern Mandarin based on the pronunciation of Pekinese and the vocabulary as well as grammar of the vernacular around the early part of the 20th century, has been vigorously promoted. The result is that native forms of the dialects have been gradually supplanted by new forms from the standard language due to mutual contact. This has been accelerated in the last two decades by the rapid advancement of mass media, such as the popular spread of television. Even worse, the rate at which this takeover progresses varies from dialect to dialect, from sub-dialect to sub-dialect, from one social group to another, from one age group to another, and even from individual to individual. Whatever cross-section taken for a typological description at best captures one stage or one dimension at one point of time in the continuum of linguistic change. Moreover, at any given point of time, the transition from an older form to a newer form may not be completed, with the result that both the old and the new may co-exist side by side. Furthermore, since the various data were not collected at the same period of time, the comparison across them is not of equal value. For example, in the constructions to be discussed below, there appears a dominant form from the standard dialect that is encroaching upon the local dialects at different stages. The original picture of variation among the dialects becomes blurred and the typological scenario that can be drawn will also be indistinct.

The immediate task is, thus, how to assign types to tokens: with respect to each pattern should a dialect be described as X percent of A + Y percent of B + Z percent of C + ..., where A is the older pre-contact native pattern, B the new post-contact dominant pattern, and C etc. the various other post-contact patterns from various strata generated at different temporal as well as spatial points? While this may be the best way to describe the actual situation, it is also desirable to make comparison between the

mostly based on our extensive field work from 1990-1992, covering 109 dialects with 144 varieties for the neutral question forms and 25 dialects for the attributive and nominalized structures. For each dialect investigated, questionnaires with some 95 (for neutral questions) and over 100 (for the attributive and the nominalized structures) sample phrases and sentences were used, although several dialects were not recorded with all the examples in the questionnaires. The questionnaires were later incorporated into Yue-Hashimoto (1993a).

typological layout of the pre-contact situation with that of the post-contact situation, in order to uncover the underlying situation that may trace back to the earlier history of the language, and offer a more distinct typological picture of various strata.

To achieve this end, we shall try to project from a given set of data the native versus the loan form if such distinction presents itself and shall incorporate both in the typological description.

This article is divided into three parts: two pertaining to the neutral question forms and one to the attributive and the nominalized construction. Part 1 deals with the V-not-V questions, Part 2 the VP-neg and the Adv-VP questions as well as provides a general typological discussion of the neutral questions, while Part 3 discusses the attributive and the nominalized pattern, with a conclusion on dialectology in typology. The present paper focuses on Part 1, the V-not-V question forms, only.³

2. Methodology

In order to overcome the obstacles of the lack of appropriate data for viable comparison, the problem of ongoing linguistic change and the difficulty in recognizing and distinguishing strata within each dialect, as a first step, we established a core data with detailed information on each research topic. This was carried out by field investigation based on a questionnaire with 95 questions on neutral questions, making sure that various structural patterns and different types of main verbs are included. The variety of patterns include the different structures of the Verb Phrase (henceforth VP), where VP consists of a simple verb, V+NP, Vopt (=optative verb or the so-called auxiliary verb) + V (+NP), VP in the potential form, V with aspects, VP with adverbs, and VP with PP (prepositional phrase). Types of verbs include the copula, Vex/poss (existential and possessive verb), Vloc (locative verb), Vopt, Vst (stative verb or adjective), Vtrq (transitive verb of quality that shares the features of both the Vst and the Vtr), Vcog (cognitive verb), Vin (intransitive verb) and Vtr (transitive verb). After a careful examination of the materials, it was decided that V + aspect does not carry much typological significance except for further subclassification, and the 17 questions with V+asp were therefore omitted in this part of the article until the discussion on typological correlates later in part 2, leaving 78 questions to work with. An Informant Background Check List for screening native speakers is given in Appendix 1 and the Questionnaire for Neutral Questions in Appendix 2.

³ The neutral question form is also used as an embedded clause in statements, such as 買不買沒關係 'buying or not does not matter' or 告訴我他來不來 'tell me if s/he is coming'. Its significance will be discussed in Part 2.

With this questionnaire, about 150 dialects and their varieties were investigated, including one dialect investigated by two researchers giving two variants. Most of the investigation was carried out between 1990-1992. The affiliations of these dialects includes all seven major dialect groups: Min, Yue, Hakka, Gan, Wu, Xiang and Northern. However, the majority were Southern dialects: for example, most of the Min dialects were from Southern Min; and for Northern Chinese, Southeastern Mandarin dialects constituted the majority with a number from Southwestern and Northwestern Mandarin. Lacking in data were Northern Mandarin and Northern Min. The reason for focusing on the Southern dialects was because of the rich variety and great diversity encountered in them.

To explore the historical change involved in the constructions for research, to understand the stratification of different patterns within a single dialect, and to distinguish between an earlier native form and later borrowings, we consulted, wherever possible, available published historical materials of the various dialects also.

To give a broader picture, albeit tentative, of the typological distribution of these constructions, we also gathered information from various publications on the dialects. Since the nature of these materials is of different degrees of detail and quality, we shall distinguish the two kinds of materials used in our survey by setting our own field materials in bold type.⁴

3. Neutral question forms

The term ‘neutral question’ has been introduced to cover question forms more widely known as the ‘V-not-V question’ or the ‘A-not-A question,’ *à la* Y.R. Chao (反復問句 or 正反問句 in Chinese) on the one hand, and the ‘FVP’ or ‘K-VP’ type, *à la* Zhu Dexi on the other. The former has the structure of a pair of VPs with positive and negative counterparts, while the latter consists of an adverb (which is a question marker) plus a VP.⁵ Moreover, D. Zhu (1985) investigates the distribution of these two types of questions and finds them to be complementary. Since these question forms, although entirely different in structure, carry with them neutral connotation and bear the same function, it is convenient to refer to them under one cover term ‘the neutral questions.’⁶

⁴ A list of all the dialects and sub-dialects and their investigators for all three constructions, including the V-not-V Question will be given at the end of Part 3 of this article.

⁵ See Y.R. Chao (1947:40). The term ‘FVP’ is used in D. Zhu (1985) and ‘K-VP’ in D. Zhu (1990).

⁶ By ‘neutral’ is meant that the attitude of the addresser is not expressed implicitly or explicitly, and that the aim of the question is simply to solicit information without pre-judgment, as for example in: 你去不去? ‘Are you going?’ Compare it with: 你不去嗎? ‘Are you not going?’

D. Zhu (1990) uses the term ‘Yes-or-No question’ to translate the Chinese 反復問句, a practice that has been followed by many other linguists in the field. Since the term ‘Yes-No question’ has already been used in the general linguistic literature to designate a different type of question which can be answered with the tags ‘Yes’ or ‘No’, it will be misleading to use the same term for the type of interrogative structures in questions which cannot be answered with such tags. ‘Neutral question’ or 中性問句 is a more suitable cover term, where 中性 was already introduced by Lü Shuxiang as early as 1942 in his classification of the tone of questioning.⁷

The significance of D. Zhu (1985) is the importance it recognizes and the foundation it lays for research on the structural typology of Chinese, of which little was known at that time and still is now.⁸ Zhu Dexi suggests two major types of neutral questions that are typologically significant: the V-not-V and the Adv-VP. Although this discovery is a great step forward, the resultant distributional picture does not correlate with any other distributional pattern, phonological or lexical, that already exists. While this by no means diminishes the value of his work, it is more desirable if syntactic patterning can be correlated with other types of linguistic patterning in the language, and if one type of syntactic patterning overlaps with another type, it strengthens each other’s typological value.

Yue (1988) suggests that there may be three, instead of two types of neutral questions. A third type, VP-neg, should be recognized and not subsumed as a subtype of VP-neg-VP (henceforth V-not-V), as assumed in D. Zhu (1990).⁹ The *neg* component of this VP-neg form consists of a negative marker or a negative marker plus a following question particle or a merger of the two. Between VP and *neg*, there may be a linking particle. Although at present it is still premature to argue whether, historically speaking, VP-neg predates V-not-V, or whether V-not-V is derived from VP-neg, or the other way around, the synchronic picture is a tripartite division of neutral question forms among the dialects: the V-not-V form is characteristic of Northern Chinese, the VP-neg form characteristic of Southern Chinese, while the F-VP or Adv-VP (henceforth Adv-VP) form seems to be characteristic of a region that now encompasses both certain Southern Chinese (mainly Anhui, Northern Wu, Southern Min and southern Jiangxi Hakka) and certain Northern Chinese dialects (mainly Southeastern Mandarin, Yunnan of

where the addresser thinks that the addressee is going and is surprised that it may be otherwise; or with 他吃羊肉吧? ‘He eats mutton, I suppose?’ the addresser presumes that ‘he eats mutton’ but is uncertain.

⁷ See Lü (1942:262) and Yue-Hashimoto (1988:29ff).

⁸ Apart from D. Zhu (1985, 1990) the most significant work on syntactic typology in Chinese is M. Zhang (1990).

⁹ Justification of VP-neg as an independent type is further given in Yue (1992).

Southwestern Mandarin), which we may tentatively call Southeastern Chinese.¹⁰ This typological configuration largely coincides with the already well-known distinctive distribution of phonological and lexical features that dichotomizes Han-Chinese into Northern versus Southern. The typological distribution of the Southeastern type that distinguishes itself with the Adv-VP question form, coincides to a certain extent with that of a phonological type rich in complicated tone sandhi systems, as exemplified in the Wu and the Min dialects. Another support for this tripartite division is that the same layout of neutral question forms is found in non-Sinitic languages now spoken to the south and southwest of the Chinese language.

3.1 Spatial and temporal correlation

As already mentioned above and “according to extant information, the V-not-V form is prevalent in the Northern dialects, especially north of the Yangzi river while the other two forms are popular in the Southern dialects.” (Yue-Hashimoto 1993a:42) However, this is an idealistic picture of a much more complex linguistic situation in which languages and dialects in contact are constantly interacting with each other. There are in fact very few dialects that employ exclusively one form for the neutral question. It is very common for a dialect to have one or more non-native forms that have been, or are in the process of being, absorbed, along with a native form. The **Shantou** 汕頭 dialect of Southern Min is a notorious case: It uses as many as 4 different forms — a VP(-prt)-neg form, an Adv-VP form, a hybrid Adv-VP(-prt)-neg form and a V-not-V form, where *prt* signifies a particle linking the VP and the *neg*. For example, for the sentence ‘Do you know of his affairs?’ we have:¹¹

- (1) a. 伊個事, 你會知(阿)[boi³⁵]?
 (1) a. This person, you will know (particle) [boi³⁵]?
 (1) a. Do you know of his affairs?

¹⁰ Classification of the major Chinese dialect groups follows that of Norman (1988). There are, however, areas of Northern Chinese which do not belong to the V-not-V type. For example, the Muping 牟平 dialect of Shandong, according to F. Luo (1992), seems to belong to the Adv-VP type. At present we unfortunately do not have much information on V-not-V question forms of Shandong. Many Northwestern Mandarin dialects, such as Qingjian 清澗 in Shaanxi, Pianguan 偏關 in Shanxi, Linxia 臨夏 in Gansu, Xining 西寧 in Qinghai, etc., belong to the VP-neg type. Yunnan geographically lies outside the Southeastern region. However, Han immigrants into Yunnan are mostly from the Anhui province, according to M. Zhang (1990); therefore, their predecessors are still from the region in question.

¹¹ The examples are taken from the investigation by Shi Qisheng 施其生 for the Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar Project 1990-92. Superscript numerals occurring before the ‘>’ sign indicate the tonal value in isolation while those occurring after it the tonal value in sandhi.

- b. 伊個事, 你知[m^{35>21}]知?
- c. 伊個事, 你[k'aʔ^{2>5}]會知?
- d. 伊個事, 你[k'aʔ^{2>5}]會知(阿)[boi³⁵]?

The V-not-V form has the widest distribution among the Chinese dialects: it occurs in all of the major dialect groups and often occurs side by side with the VP-neg and the Adv-VP form. On the other hand, there is evidence that the V-not-V form is native to the Northern and the other two to the Southern and Southeastern dialects at least for the past century, and the co-occurrence in distribution can be explained by the phenomenon of syntactic stratification as a result of language contact.¹² With the standard language being a form of Northern Chinese using the V-not-V question form, the spread of this V-not-V form is inevitable. As a result, many dialects employ the V-not-V form for the neutral question, even though at the same time they may use VP-neg or Adv-VP as their native form. It is impossible to draw a typological distributional picture without sorting out the stratification of linguistic structures. It is important to distinguish between native and loan forms, otherwise we do not know what we are comparing. We are taking a two-dimensional approach: combining a typology of the native forms with an overlay of syntactic diffusion manifested in the loan forms.

This contemporary scenario of the stratification of neutral question forms across dialects in a spatial axis can be said to be a reflection of the historical, albeit non-linear, development of these question forms.

The earliest extant attested record of the neutral question form is the VP-neg type found in a bronze inscription of the Western Zhou period with 不 serving as *neg*—from the inscription of the Wusiwei 五祀衛 tripod of mid Western Zhou unearthed from the Dong family village 董家村 of Qishan 岐山 in the 1970s.¹³

(2) 正乃訊厲曰: 汝賈田不

‘Then Zheng asked Li: do you sell farmland?’

However, this VP-neg question form hardly appears in pre-Qin received texts, but occurs frequently from Han time onward, when another common *neg* is 否. Pulleyblank (1995:104) considers 否 as “standing for 不 + deleted verb”, which may be interpreted as the merger of *neg* + V. 否 occurs in pre-Qin texts in negative contrast to a verb in a statement but not in the VP-neg question form. For instance, in the following example in the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Chronicles*, the embedded clause ending in 否 is actually in the form of a Disjunctive Question presenting a

¹² See Yue-Hashimoto (1991), (1992) and (1993a) for details.

¹³ See X. Qiu (1979) quoting *Wenwu* 文物 (1976-5:38).

choice between the affirmative and its negative counterpart with the conjunction 與 in between, namely VP_{affirmative} + conj + VP_{negative}:

- (3) 三十年春晉人侵鄭以觀其可攻與否 [左僖 30.1]
 ‘In the spring of the 30th year, the Jin invaded Zheng to see whether it could be attacked’

Next comes the VP-Qprt (=question particle) form found extensively in pre-Qin received texts. In the *Zuo Commentary*, 乎 is used as the Qprt:

- (4) 吾子孫其覆亡之不暇,而況能禋祀許乎 [隱 11.3]
 ‘My sons and grandsons do not even have time [to salvage the country from being] overthrown, how can they offer sacrifice to the ancestors of Xu?’

Hybrid forms of VP-Qprt and VP-neg, albeit rare, are also found in pre-Qin received texts: for example, VP-Qprt-neg in the *Xunzi* 荀子 or VP-neg-Qprt in the *Mencius* (see below and 3.3 in Part 2). These hybrid forms are important links to the later versions of VP-prt-neg such as witnessed in Southern Min and VP-neg-prt observed in 18th century Cantonese.

The earliest extant V-not-V forms, such as the VP-neg-V and the V-neg-V, are found during the Qin dynasty (see 3.2.1), the VP-neg-VP during the Tang time¹⁴ and finally the V-neg-VP in the 19th century (see 3.2.2).

Before the discovery of the bamboo slips in the Qin tombs in Shuihudi 睡虎地 of Yunmeng 雲夢 in 1975, it was generally assumed that the V-not-V question form was of late origin. Now we know it occurred as early as the Qin dynasty, but there is still difficulty in determining its distribution with respect to the VP-neg form. Historically speaking, although X. Qiu (1979) does not deny the possible existence of both the V-neg-V and the VP-neg as early as the Yin dynasty, citing example (2), he did say that the form generally used in received texts is the VP-否 type. Mei (1978) traces the origin and development of the Disjunctive Question forms since the pre-Qin times. Nonetheless, whether the VP-neg question form is an offshoot of the Disjunctive Question form remains to be clarified.¹⁵ Moreover, apart from the example from

¹⁴ For the VP-neg-VP form, Ohta (1958) quoted an example of A. Stein MSS from the *Wuxinlun* of the Mahāprejñāpāramitā sūtra 大般若波羅蜜多經 of early Tang: 是心不是心? [無心論:S296] ‘Is it the heart or is it not the heart?’.

¹⁵ D. Zhu (1985) assumed that Mei (1978) described the V-not-V question form as derived from the disjunctive question form; however, this claim is not explicitly stated in Mei’s article, although we find statements such as: “The relationship between the disjunctive and the

Western Zhou, the only evidence we have is the single example in the bamboo slips of Qin:¹⁶

- (5) 免老告人以爲不孝，謁殺，當三環之不? [p.195]

‘The old man accused (him) to be unfilial, and asked for the death sentence, should it go through the procedure of pardon thrice?’

Since there is no other example, one cannot rule out the possibility of scribal error of omitting the 當 after 不.

Another type of question closest to the modern VP-neg is the VP-否乎 found in the *Mencius*, as for example:¹⁷

- (6) 則去之否乎 (公孫丑 B4)

‘Would you dismiss him or not?’

Since the particle 乎 is a question marker, and since 否 never occurs alone to mark a question, the function of 否 here is not equivalent to that of *neg* in the modern VP-neg question form. Yet, its presence laid the foundation for the development of the genuine VP-neg form—it may be considered a hybrid form of the most prevalent Particle-Question marked with a question particle such as 乎 in received texts, and the VP-neg type. It is significant that this same procedure is repeated in the emergence of the Adv-VP form.

As pointed out in M. Zhang (1990), examples of genuine VP-neg questions appear in abundance in the *Shiji Chronicles* 史記. As for colloquial documents, it appears in many translations of Buddhist texts in post-Han times. For example, in the translation of the 沙門果經 *Samaññaphalasutta* by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (both of the late 4th and early 5th centuries), we find examples of the VP-neg question form where *neg* is 不 or 否:¹⁸

V-not-V question (你去不去) is very close, the difference lies only in the former is a choice between A and B while the latter is a choice between A and non-A” (p. 19) and “The source of such sentence pattern as 還知也無? is 爲知邪不知邪? which became 爲知也不 through ellipsis and contraction...” (p. 25).

¹⁶ See Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian Zhengli Xiaozu (1978).

¹⁷ M. Zhang (1990), quoting Y. Liu (1986), mentions that there is only one more example of this type found in the *Mencius*: 如此則動心否乎 (公孫丑 A2). We found another example, although the question is embedded as an object of the verb: 孟仲子對曰...今病小愈趨造于朝我不識能至否乎 (公孫丑 B2) ‘Meng Zhongzi replied...now [Mencius] is a little better and has hastened to court, I do not know if [he] can get here’.

¹⁸ See 大正大藏經 1.107-9.

- (7) a. 今諸沙門現在所修，現得果報不？[2]
 ‘Will what the *samana* now strive for receive retribution now?’
 b. 今者沙門現在修道，現得報否？[9] ‘*ibid*’
 (8) 汝頗曾詣諸沙門 婆羅門所，問如此義不？
 ‘Have you attempted to visit the *śramanas* and the *brahmanas* to ask if it is of such meaning?’ [2]

Since then, the VP-neg form with or without a particle before the *neg* is popular in the colloquial Buddhist texts or in the *bianwen* 變文 (4th-10th century) where *neg* assumes a variety of forms such as 未, 無, 不, 否 and *pri* comprises 也, 以, 已:¹⁹

- (9) 子命盡未？[搜神記:886]
 ‘Has our son’s life ended yet?’
 (10) 陵在蕃中有死色無？[伍子胥變文:93]
 ‘Does Ling bear a deathlike countenance among the barbarians?’
 (11) 此園堪不？[降魔變文:364]
 ‘Will this garden do?’
 (12) 軍中有火石否？[李陵變文:86]
 ‘Is there a flintstone in the army?’
 (13) 有號也無？[漢將王陵變:38]
 ‘Is there a bugle?’
 (14) 不多喚人來捉我以否？[伍子胥變文:13]
 ‘Wouldn’t he ask people to come and arrest me?’
 (15) 求之可得已不？[降魔變文:367]
 ‘Can it be obtained?’
 (16) 未委娘子賜許以不？[秋胡變文:157]
 ‘I wonder if you, young lady, will grant permission?’
 (17) 昨夜念經是汝已否？[晁山遠公話:177]
 ‘Is it you who recited the text last night?’

or the *Zutangji* of the 10th century:²⁰

¹⁹ See Z. Wang et al. (1984) for the *bianwen* reference.

²⁰ According to Liu Xunning’s (1995) calculation, among 499 instances of neutral question forms, only 16 are of the VP-不-VP type while 483 are of the VP-neg type, among which 276 (57.14%) bear VP-也無 and 186 (38.5%) bear VP-不. However, his calculation does not take into account the fact that an overwhelming number of the VP-也無 are also marked with 還, so that the pattern is really 還...VP-也無. See section 3.4 in Part 2 for further discussion.

- (18) 于此後有聖人出不 (II.65.10)
 ‘Did any sage appear here afterwards?’
 (19) 孃在無 (IV.175.3)
 ‘Is mother in?’

3.2 The V-not-V form

The V-not-V question includes four variation forms according to the structure of the VP as follows:

- V-neg-V — such as 你走不走? ‘Are you leaving?’; 他胖不胖? ‘Is he fat?’
 VP-neg-VP — such as (ia) 你吃肉不吃肉? ‘Do you eat meat?’; (iia) 你是木匠不是木匠? ‘Are you a carpenter?’; (iiaa) 你有筆沒有筆? ‘Do you have a pen?’; (iva) 他要來不要來? ‘Does he want to come?’; (va) 你跳得上去跳不上去? ‘Can you jump up?’; (via) 你跟他說不跟他說? ‘Are you telling him?’
 VP-neg-V — such as (ib) 你吃肉不吃? (iib) 你是木匠不是? (iiib) 你有筆沒有? (ivb) 他要來不要? ²¹
 V-neg-VP — such as (ic) 你吃不吃肉? (iic) 你是不是木匠? (iiic) 你有沒有筆? (ivc) 他要不要來? (vc) 你跳不跳得上去? (vic) 你跟不跟他說?

A particle may occur after the first V or VP. If a particle occurs at the end of the question, it is usually optional. Some of these variations with the intra-sentence particle have typological significance, as we shall see in Part 2.

For the purpose of typological classification at the primary level, dialects are classified according to the imperfective form of the VP, since the perfective form is generally of the VP-neg type because the negative marker often merges with the perfective marker to form a complex of neg+aspect.²² For example, the Zhengzhou 鄭州 and the Luoyang 洛陽 dialect of Henan basically use the V-not-V question form. However, since the negative form of the Vext/poss 有 is a merger of neg + Vext/poss, or [mau²⁴] for Zhengzhou and [miəu³³] for Luoyang, and since this very form is used for the negative perfective, all questions with the negative perfective have the VP-neg form,

²¹ Examples bearing the same Roman number share the same gloss.

²² There are also dialects using, for example, the V-neg-VP form for the perfective, as reported by Zhang Min for scores of Southeastern Mandarin or Jiang-Huai dialects. The perfective forms will be very useful in distinguishing typological sub-types, which will be discussed in Part 2.

such as 你去過北京[mau²⁴] (Zhengzhou) or 你去過北京[miəu³³] (Luoyang) for ‘Have you been to Beijing’?²³

Chart 1 below, based on information from D. Zhu (1985), M. Zhang (1990), Yue (1991), the field work of the Comparative Dialectal Grammar Project team (in bold type), as well as published materials, gives a rough idea of the distribution of the various V-not-V forms across dialects. For materials not investigated by our team, the classification is very tentative.

Chart 1. Distribution of the V-not-V question form in the modern dialects

	V-not-V = exclusive in occurrence	V-not-V or VP-neg	V-not-V, VP-neg [native]	V-not-V or Adv-VP	V-not-V, Adv-VP [native]
North	Hebei: 北京; Henan: 獲嘉, 洛陽, 上蔡, 溫縣, 開封 Shandong: 煙臺, 青島, 即墨, 棲霞, 招遠, 萊陽, 膠縣, 平度, 福山, 濟南, 臨邑; Liaoning: 瀋陽, 大連 Jilin: 長春 Heilongjiang: 哈爾濱, 伊春 Neimeng: 赤峰, 敖漢	Ningxia: 同心 Jiangsu: 徐州	Henan: 鄭州 Shandong: old 濟南 Jiangsu: 徐州		Shandong: 文登, 榮成 ²⁴
NW	Shanxi: 沁園 Shaanxi: 西安 Gansu: 蘭州 1, 蘭州 2, 敦煌		Shanxi: 太原, ²⁵ 洪洞 Gansu: 天水 ²⁶ Qinghai 同仁隆務鎮 ²⁷		
SW	Hubei: 漢口城, 漢川, 麻河渡, 沔陽, 仙桃鎮, 天門乾鎮, 京山, 永隆河, 荊門團林鋪, 枝江城, 巴東, 平陽河, 鄖縣城, 光	Sichuan: 榮縣	Hubei: old 大冶羅橋 ³¹		

²³ Examples taken from J. Lu (1992:144) for Zhengzhou and W. He (1993:107) for Luoyang but with the tone marks changed into the numerical system.

²⁴ Whereas M. Zhang (1990:81) regards these dialects, together with 牟平, the V-not-V type, we consider them the Adv-VP. For details, see Part 2.

²⁵ The Taiyuan dialect was investigated by Shen Ming 沈明 of the Shanxi Educational College 山西教育學院.

²⁶ The Tianshui dialect was investigated by Du Xingzhou 都興宙 in Lanzhou with a native speaker of Tianshui, Wang Lili 王麗莉, who was born in the Qincheng area 秦城區 of Tianshui but spoke the Beidaqu 北道區 variety. At that time she was 18 years old and a freshman at Lanzhou University.

²⁷ The Tongren dialect was investigated by Du Xingzhou 都興宙 with a native speaker Zhao Long 趙龍, who was born and raised in Longwuzhen 隆務鎮 of Tongren, who was 72 years old at the time and who also knows Tibetan spoken in the area.

	化城,鍾祥城,安陸城,應城,雲夢城,禮山三裏城,黃陂祁家灣,麻城宋埠,羅田多雲,廣濟武穴,蘄春漕河,大冶城, ²⁸ 嘉魚簪州,崇陽白霓橋,通城十裏市;公安淤泥湖; ²⁹ 鄂州,仙桃,天門,洪湖,隨縣淅河;潛江園林鎮,松滋,監利;武昌,漢陽,江陵(城關,太湖,秦市),沙市,麻城涼亭,荊門團林鋪, 安陸,大冶(城關,羅橋), 興山高橋, 京山城關,宜昌,來鳳,嘉魚,公安城關,鍾祥胡集,應城,雲夢,漢川,黃岡, 新州城關,浠水(清泉,關口),鄂城(市區,王鋪),武漢; ³⁰ 隨州市,洪湖 Hunan: 常德,臨武,安仁,安鄉; Sichuan: 達縣,南充市,綿陽市,樂至,資中,內江,隆昌,自貢,威遠,江油,瀘州,興山,江陵 Guizhou: 威遠		Hunan: 衡山 Sichuan: 宜賓,綿陽城郊,重慶,仁壽,峨嵋,成都 ³²		
SE	Jiangsu: 連雲港(新浦,海州,墟溝),灌雲(板浦),灌南,贛榆,流陽(茆墟,城關),漣水(楊口鄉,梁岔鄉),淮陰,淮安,泗陽(鄭樓,愛園,王集),金湖黎城,洪澤,盱眙(眙城),寶應(汜水,縣城),鹽城,儀征(城區),江寧窖頭,溧水烏山 Anhui: new 當塗, 碭山,蕭縣,郎溪,樅陽,至德,宣城,來安,蕪湖市,巢湖,巢縣,含山,無為,霍山,淮南市,寧國,界首,鳳台,壽縣,霍縣,金寨,泗縣,天長,桐城,	Anhui: 寧國		Jiangsu: 泗洪(青陽鎮),淮安(市,淮城鎮,河下鎮),盱眙(東鄉,盱城),	Jiangsu: 揚州市區, ³³ 寶應(縣城,汜水鎮,西安豐鎮),洪澤(蔣壩,高良澗,岔河,東雙溝),儀征(長州鎮,謝集鄉,新集鄉),六合(新

²⁸ Among the 7 examples in the conversation, 3 are V-neg-V and 3 V-neg-VP, but there is one VP-neg-VP: [你]今天過江不過江? ‘Are you crossing the river today?’

²⁹ All the localities up to this point are based on Chao et al. (1938).

³⁰ The above localities are based on Zhang Min’s field work. In the case of Wuhan, disyllabic verbs such as 曉得 ‘to know’, 認得 ‘to recognize’, 答應 ‘to promise’, 好看 ‘to be good-looking’, 高興 ‘to be glad’, 用功 ‘to be diligent’ appear either in full form or split form but the split form is more frequently used; for example: for ‘Is he happy?’ the split form 他高不高興啊? is more frequently used than 高興不高興?

³¹ At the time when Zhang Min investigated this dialect, there was no clear evidence whether the native stratum of it was V-not-V or VP-neg. Compared to Chao et al.’s earlier record of 1938, we can conjecture that the native stratum must have been VP-neg since the neighboring city dialect used VP-neg.

³² According to M. Zhang (1990:65-66), the VP-neg type in Chengdu is used only in questions with 得 introducing a complement, for example: 你明天來得倒不? ‘Are you able to come tomorrow?’

³³ Investigated by Zhang Min with Huang Jilin 黃繼林 as native speaker.

	蕪湖縣, 當塗, 南陵, 青陽, 太平, 宿縣, 濉溪, 阜陽, 太和, 亳縣, 廣德, 鳳陽, 定遠, 潛山, 涇縣, 阜南, 臨泉, 銅陵市, 繁昌, 蒙城, 岳西				集鄉), 南京, 江浦石橋, 江寧 (橫溪村, 窯頭村)
Hui-zhou	Anhui: 歙縣, 休寧, 績溪, 黟縣, 屯溪市, 祁門, 婺源				
Wu	Zhejiang: 紹興, 杭州, 諸暨, 嵊縣, 金華		Jiangsu: 丹陽 (縣城, 後巷鄉, 童家橋, 固村), 海門, 臨海, Zhejiang: 溫州, 樂清, 武義, 東陽, 永康		Jiangsu: 丹陽
Xiang	Hunan: new 宜章赤石		Hunan: old 宜章赤石		
Gan	Jiangxi: 靖安, 豐城, 蓮花				
Hakka	Fujian: 連城, 永定 Jiangxi: 全南 Guangxi: 陸川 Sichuan: 華陽涼水井		Taiwan: 苗栗 Guangdong: 惠陽良化		
Yue	Guangdong: 廣州, 深圳, 珠海, 番禺市橋, 從化, 花縣花山, 寶安, 東莞莞城, 寶安沙井鎮, 中山石岐, 三水西南, 高明明城, 順德大良, 南海沙頭, 江門白沙, 新會, 斗門鎮, 鶴山雅瑤, 恩平牛江, ³⁴ 香港, 肇慶 Guangxi: 南寧	Guangdong: 陽江	Guangdong: C19 廣州; 增城		
Min			Fujian: 福州倉山, 泉州 Zhejiang: 平陽 Guangdong: 饒平黃崗鎮, 海康調鳳鎮 Hainan: 海口, 文昌抱羅鎮		

NB: underlined items are the majority in occurrence; all dialects in bold type are based on our detailed investigation; the capital 'C' before a number, e.g. C19, stands for 'century' in abbreviation.

³⁴ Conghua, Bao'an, Zengcheng, Huaxian and Dongguan were investigated by Yang Jianguo 楊建國, and the rest by Gao Ran 高然 and Zhong Qi 鍾奇.

From Chart 1, it can be observed that those which use the V-not-V form exclusively are overwhelmingly Mandarin dialects, while there is good reason to believe that the Shanxi dialects, or in general, the Northwestern Mandarin dialects, the inland Shandong dialects and even the Central Mandarin dialects, have as their native type the VP-neg form, since we shall see that the majority of these dialects, particularly those spoken in more remote areas, use the VP-neg form. Notice that dialects like Lanzhou 蘭州 or Jinan 濟南 are spoken in metropolitan areas easily influenced by the standard dialect, whereas the Zhengzhou 鄭州 dialect carries the VP-neg form whenever the Vex/poss 有 is used; for example, 還有飯[mau²⁴]? ‘Is there still some rice?’³⁵

A number of Southwestern, Southeastern Mandarin and Huizhou dialects also use the V-not-V form. However, there is also overlap in usage: Southeastern Mandarin dialects such as Yangzhou 揚州 in Jiangsu use both the V-not-V (more frequent) and the Adv-VP (less frequent) form. In addition, as we shall see below, the majority of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects in Sichuan use either the V-neg-VP or the VP-neg form and those of the Southeastern Mandarin dialects use the Adv-VP form, so that the V-not-V form may not belong to the native stratum of these dialects.

Even Southern dialects employ the V-not-V form, as seen above in some Wu, Gan, Hakka and Yue dialects.³⁶ As early as the first part of the 19th century, there is evidence that Cantonese used the V-not-V form. In Morrison (1828), there is a sole example of a V-neg-V question:

- (20) 你歡喜唔歡喜
‘Do you like to have it so’ [LIM]

Overlap in usage is evident: Wu dialects like Danyang 丹陽, Hakka dialects like Huiyang 惠陽, Yue dialects like Zengcheng 增城 and Min dialects like Fuzhou 福州 use both the V-not-V (more frequent) and the VP-neg (less frequent) form. Again, the V-not-V form does not seem to be native. Hangzhou 杭州 constitutes a special case in being historically the capitol of the Southern Song dynasty from 1138 through 1278, absorbing considerable influence from the North; therefore, it is not surprising that contrary to the majority of the Wu dialects, which use either the VP-neg form or the Adv-VP form, it prefers the V-not-V form. It is also significant that Shaoxing 紹興,

³⁵ Examples taken from J. Lu (1992:144) but with the tone mark changed into the numerical system.

³⁶ Information on Hangzhou is based on Simmons (1992) and on Liancheng based on M. Xiang (1990).

Zhuji 諸暨 and Shengxian 嵊縣—the other places that use the V-not-V form—are in its immediate environs. The majority of the Gan and the Hakka dialects use the VP-neg form; while most of the Min dialects use either the VP-neg form or the Adv-VP form. Although a good number of the Yue dialects seem to prefer the V-not-V form, more conservative dialects further away from the delta area, such as Kaiping 開平 and Taishan 台山, prefer the VP-neg form, as we shall see in section 3.3.2.

In conclusion, the V-not-V form is native to dialects spoken in the heartland of the North. With limited syntactic information on dialects of this area, which is not covered in our field work, we can only rely on M. Zhang (1990) in citing Henan, Shandong (Jiaodong peninsula), Dongbei, central Jiangsu as the major V-not-V dialects. However, the territory of the V-not-V form, due to the prestige of the standard dialect that is marked by the usage of this form, extends far beyond its original boundary, encroaching upon the domain of the other two neutral question forms, creating different syntactic strata in a great number of dialects. Stratification often manifests itself in the correlation of usage of different neutral question forms with different social groups, especially with respect to age, mobility and educational background. The V-not-V form often enters a dialect of the VP-neg or the Adv-VP type and establishes itself with younger, mobile and more educated speakers while the native form may have its stronghold with older, less mobile and less educated speakers, who tend to be more conservative.

M. Zhang (1990) presents historical records and accounts concerning the migration of people during different periods that have bearing on the geographical distribution of the V-not-V as well as other neutral question forms observed nowadays. The reader is referred to this work for explanation of geographically disconnected regions that employ typologically similar patterns. The principle for interdisciplinary research should be to pursue evidence and establish assumptions in each discipline independent of others before seeking correlation of evidence. This way circularity can be avoided and such independently reached conclusions can be deemed truly supportive of each other. While the study of the linguistic distribution of patterns is our primary concern and it should not be built on external evidence, the correlation between linguistic facts and external factors is important. From such independently made correlation it is possible to make assumptions relying on linguistic evidence alone when historical documents are lacking.

3.2.1 The VP-neg-V type

The full form of the V-not-V question, VP-neg-VP, is not popular among the dialects. We only know that the Huojia 獲嘉 dialect in Henan and Old Pekinese—Pekinese spoken by people over 60 years old (or Pekinese that appears in

written records before the middle of the 20th century)—prefer to use this form.³⁷ However, with respect to early documents, the extant oldest version of *Lao Qida*, the 原刊老乞大, presumed to be written during the Yuan dynasty or the end of the Koryo period around the middle of the 14th century, does not show preference for the VP-neg-VP form but gives a variety of different neutral questions, which include the VP-prt-neg-VP, the VP-prt-neg-V and VP(-prt)-neg, among which the VP-neg type occurs the most often.³⁸ For example:

- (21) 耐繁教那不耐繁教? [02 左:03-04]
‘Does [he] teach with patience?’
- (22) 喫得飽那不飽? [12 左:02]
‘Did you eat to your fill?’
- (23) a. 有轆轤那無? [09 左:01]
‘Do you have a pulley?’
b. 高麗客人李舍有麼? [20 右:09]
‘Is the Korean guest at the Li’s?’

In fact, of the three types, VP(-prt-) neg shows the highest frequency of usage — about 11 tokens, not counting the perfective or fixed expressions such as 好麼, while there is only one for VP-neg-V and 2 for VP-prt-neg-V. Thus, during the Yuan dynasty, VP(-prt)-neg was actually the dominant form.

M. Zhang (1990), based on Lanzhou Daxue (1963), mentions that the Lanzhou 蘭州 dialect in Gansu prefers the VP-neg-VP type. However, thirty years later, our detailed investigation of this dialect in the early 1990’s did not turn up any such example.³⁹ This is a typical example of an old pattern being squeezed out of use. In our survey, V-neg-V and V-neg-VP are used to the exclusion of VP-neg-V unless the main verb is Vex/poss 有; in addition, high frequency disyllabic verbs may occur in ‘split’ form when appearing in a V-neg-VP question, as for example, 知不知道他的那個事 ‘Do [you] know of his matter?’, 認不認得這個人 ‘Do [you] recognize this person?’. The case with the Vex/poss 有 is interesting: it occurs mainly in V-neg-VP but there are

³⁷ See W. He (1991) as well as M. Zhang (1990:72) for details.

³⁸ M. Zhang points out that while this oldest version has *prt* in the V-not-V forms, three later versions, 老乞大諺解, 老乞大新釋 and 重刊老乞大諺解 often omit the *prt* (personal communication).

³⁹ Our native speaker of the Lanzhou dialect, Li Yu 李宇, at the time of investigation was 28 years old and a graduate student at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He was born and raised in Lanzhou, although his father was from the Zhuoni 卓尼 prefecture of Gansu and his mother from Xi’an. He also understood the Xi’an dialect though spoke it with an accent.

sometimes cases of VP-neg-V. For example, the following sentences are preferred by the speaker:

- (24) 你有時間沒有？ 你有沒有時間？
 ‘Do you have time?’
- (25) a. 外面有人沒有？
 ‘Is there someone outside?’
 b. 桌上有茶杯沒有？
 ‘Is there a teacup on the table?’
- (26) a. 你們家養雞沒有？
 ‘Do you raise chickens?’
 b. 你們家有沒有菜園？
 ‘Do you have a vegetable garden?’
- (27) 你有沒有妹妹？
 ‘Do you have a younger sister?’

This mixture of usage is typical of a situation of language change, which can be observed in almost all of the dialects we investigated. Although V-neg-VP is the dominant form over VP-neg-V in late 20th century Lanzhou, we can safely conclude that its native form is VP-neg-V, which has been gradually taken over by the popular V-neg-VP form. What is even more interesting is that the Vex/poss 有 is the lagger in the change, which, as we shall see, makes Lanzhou similar to the Southern Min dialects in the process of change, while other dialects usually follow the path of change as that of Pekinese.⁴⁰

Thus, in the case of Lanzhou, while VP-neg-VP is the native form in mid 20th century (henceforth Lanzhou1), it is replaced by the VP-neg-V and V-neg-VP forms by the end of the 20th century, with VP-neg-V seen as the native form but is also gradually being usurped by the V-neg-VP form (henceforth **Lanzhou 2**).

Further refinement of the syntactic typology of the V-not-V question form is found in D. Zhu (1990), in which the V-not-V form is subdivided into a VO-neg-V and a V-neg-VO type, which we may redefine as a VP-neg-V type and a V-neg-VP type, since VP may contain a verbal complement rather than an object NP. Naturally, this distinction is possible only when VP contains an object NP or a complement VP.

⁴⁰ The case of Pekinese studied in M. Zhang (1990) over roughly the last century exhibits the same scenario of the gradual encroachment of the V-neg-VP form over the VP-neg-V form. The process of change is however different from Lanzhou. There the non-native V-neg-VP form first appeared with the copula, next with Vopt and last with all other types of verbs. For details, see Yue (1993b).

According to M. Zhang (1990), the VP-neg-V form is popular in Old Pekinese and Lanzhou1, and according to W. He (1991), the VP-neg-V form is popular in Huojia alongside with the VP-neg-VP form. In addition, the VP-neg-V type is characteristic of the Mandarin dialects of Hebei, Shanxi, northern Henan, Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai. Unfortunately, except for Pekinese and the Huojia dialect of Henan, there is no detailed study or data of the neutral question forms of the Northern Mandarin dialects. Other dialects mentioned in M. Zhang (1990) using mainly the VP-neg-V form include Shangcai 上蔡 in northern Henan. According to both accounts, there seems to be no dialects using the VP-neg-V form exclusively.

Little information is available on dialects in southern Henan and on other Hebei dialects than Pekinese. It is difficult to define the distribution of the VP-neg-V dialects, although we believe the area must have been much larger than the present-day region of northern Henan. Observing the case of Lanzhou1 and **Lanzhou2**, VP-neg-V is very likely developed from VP-neg-VP. Thus, we may surmise that while the nucleus for both VP-neg-VP and its variant VP-neg-V was Henan, it could have an overlay in the surrounding areas.

However, the Northwestern Mandarin dialects spoken in Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai are mainly of the VP-neg type, although the VP-neg-V form may also be used (but less frequently) in certain dialects such as Hongtong 洪洞 (Shanxi) or Qingjian 清澗 (Shaanxi) (see section 3.3).

The present-day distribution of the VP-neg-V form is rather limited: as the primary form of the neutral question, it is native to northern Henan and probably its neighboring areas; and even as a secondary form, it is limited to some Northwestern, Southwestern and Southeastern Mandarin dialects. Historically, however, the Northwest is the oldest known region with the VP-neg-V form, since this form appeared in the legal catechism 法律答問 of the Qin dynasty, as already pointed out in X. Qiu (1988) and D. Zhu (1990).⁴¹ The VP-neg-V type, where VP contains the Vopt 當 followed by another verb is the majority among the total of about two dozen questions, while the VP-neg-V form with the verb 爲 plus an object shows just two instances, and the V-neg-V type merely once. For example:

- (28) 大夫寡, 當伍及人不當 [p.217]
 ‘Senior officials are few, should [they] be grouped into ranks like others?’
 (29) 越裏中之與它裏界者, 垣爲完(院)不爲 [p.231]
 ‘Is the boundary wall between the neighbor and what passes over to the

⁴¹ Although the sites excavated in December 1975 were in the Yunmeng prefecture of Hubei, the bamboo slips with legal catechisms unearthed from tomb No. 11 were from the Qin dynasty. These catechisms were published in the *Shuihudi Qin Mu Zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡, 1978.

neighbor considered a surrounding wall?’

(30) 臧(藏)者論不論? [p.230]

‘Should the one storing the booty be accused of committing a criminal act?’

Unfortunately, there is not enough documented data to trace the geographical distribution of the usage of the VP-neg-V form during Qin times or thereafter. Was the use of the VP-neg-V form at that time limited to the northwestern area? With a gap of more than one thousand years at the end of which, the *bianwen* 變文 of the Tang dynasty appeared. The *bianwen* can be traced back to the Northwest, but it bears overwhelmingly the VP-neg form. At this point, it is difficult to surmise what had happened in between in this northwestern region. According to a study of F. Wu (1996) on the neutral question forms in the *bianwen* based on Wang et al. (1984), the majority is the VP-neg type and a minority is of the V-not-V type, while the Adv-VP type barely exists. Wu’s chart of the frequency of occurrence is reproduced here with minor adjustment: ⁴²

Type	Sub-type	neg form	Frequency	Sub-total	%	Total	Total %
VP-neg	VP-neg	VP-不	26	61	44.85	103	75.73%
		VP-否	29				
		VP-無	5				
		VP-未	1				
	VP-prt-neg	VP-已-否	25	42	30.88		
		VP-以-否	6				
		VP-已-不	7				
		VP-以-不	2				
		VP-也無	2				
	V-neg-V	V-neg-V	V-不-V	30			
V-prt-neg-V		V- prt-不-V	2		1.47		
Adv-VP	可-VP		1			1	0.74%
Grand Total						136	100%

⁴² See F. Wu (1966: 482).

Below are some examples of the V-neg-V type with and without a *pri* preceding the *neg*:

- (31) 大眾聽不聽? 能不能? 願不願? [佛說阿彌陀經講經文, p.473]
‘Will the masses listen, can you? Are you willing?’
(32) 識也不識? [韓擒虎話本, p.202]
‘Do you know [it]?’

In his calculation of these occurrences, however, Wu did not distinguish among the subtypes of V-neg-V, VP-neg-V, V-neg-VP and VP-neg-VP. It seems that the V-neg-V subtype is in the overwhelming majority, although there are some interesting examples of VP-neg-V, where VP contains VC (verb + complement) or VO (verb + object), such as:

- (33) 捉得不得? (漢將王陵變, p.40)
‘Was [he] captured or not?’
(34) 說與夫人, 從你不從? (太子成道經, p.291)
‘(If you) tell your wife, will she follow you?’

In addition, the example cited for the Adv-VP type is questionable. 可 in the following sentence is not necessarily the Adv in a neutral question but may also be interpreted as an emphatic marker:

- (35) 可能捨得己身 與我充爲高座? [妙法蓮華經講經文, p.496]
‘Can you indeed spare your own self and act as the rostrum for me?’

Does this mean that the V-not-V question form of the Northwest, and more specifically the VP-neg-V form (up to this time, no documented evidence of the V-neg-VP form has been found), has been replaced by the VP-neg form? Or had there always been dialectal difference with certain areas using the VP-neg-V and others the VP-neg form? Lacking further internal evidence, external evidence from areal linguistic examples may be of use. That is why a typological study of the syntactic constructions of neighboring minority languages is important.

3.2.2 The V-neg-VP form

The V-neg-VP form is at present the most popular neutral question among modern

dialects. It is widespread among Southwestern Mandarin, the Jiaodong peninsula of Shandong, the Dongbei region, Southeastern Mandarin, and is found in practically all the major dialect groups, such as Yue, Hakka, Min (especially Northern Min), Wu, Xiang and Gan. It is predicted that its domain will spread even wider, to the extent that other forms except V-neg-V may become obsolete in the future. This will be shown below as we follow the microhistory of those dialects for which we have available historical data.

As mentioned in the previous section, the V-neg-VP form is a new development. Although Ohta (1958) cites the following example from the *bianwen*:

- (36) 佛是誰家種族? 先代有沒家門? [降魔變文, p.377]
 ‘What ethnicity is Bhuda, does it have good family background?’

C. Feng (2000) raises doubt on 沒, which he thinks may actually be an interrogative pronoun, a contraction of 何物(勿) ‘what’,⁴³ a transitional form appearing during the middle and the late Tang.

Although the fact that the V-neg-VP form is not found in any historical document before Tang times does not necessarily prove that it did not exist earlier in history, since written documents, more often than not, represent the standard, literary language. Colloquial documents such as certain Buddhist texts, verbatim records, etc. are rare and neither the study of the *Zutangji* nor of the *bianwen* so far have turned up any other than the sole example quoted above of the V-neg-VP type of neutral question.⁴⁴ Still, one may argue that it may have existed in some earlier colloquial language not recorded in any written form. However, due to the following two facts to be discussed below, it is quite unlikely that this is the case.

In the earliest extant colloquial Southern Min documents—the four versions of *The Litchi (Mirror) Tale* 荔枝記/荔鏡記, *The Golden Flower Girl* 金花女, *Su Liu-nian* 蘇六娘 and the *Schoolmate and Zither Book* 同窗琴書記—dated 1566 through 1884, only 3 examples (all from the Jiajing 嘉靖 edition of the *Litchi Tale* of 1566) of the V-not-V question form were found, two of which bear the VP-neg-V form:

- (37) (外) 有文書沒有 (p. 1B, 1.8)
 ‘(Elder Brother) Is there an official document?’

⁴³ See C. Feng (2000:705) f.n.1 and pp.177-179.

⁴⁴ See Yue-Hashimoto (2004), where it is described that both the VP-neg and the V-not-V form (either V 不 V or VP 不 VP) are found mostly in more formal and standard speech, while a hybrid form of Adv-VP-prt-neg occurs extensively (467 instances) in colloquial speech on the whole. There are also some rare instances (four occurrences) of the Adv-VP type.

- (38) (末) 是實情不是 (78B, 1.15)

‘(Judge) Is it the truth?’

- (39) (外) 有啞沒有 (102B, 1.7)

‘(Elder Brother) Did you?’

These examples are all loan forms—the use of 沒有 instead of the native 無 for the negative counterpart of Vex/poss betrays its non-native status. Moreover, most other examples (numbered around 176 out of 226) of the neutral question in these texts are of the VP-neg type. These 3 examples must have been borrowed from the standard language of the time or a version of the standard language used in the local court, which was evidently of the VP-neg-V type. Note that the speakers using this VP-neg-V form are all of high social status and would be expected to use some kind of standard court language. No example of the V-neg-VP form was found.

Next, Cantonese as spoken in the 19th century did not have the V-neg-VP form at all, although it now uses almost exclusively this form. So far the earliest documented examples of V-neg-VP in this dialect date from 1912: ⁴⁵

- (40) 係唔係中國算至大嘅城呀? (IV.20)

‘Is it counted as the biggest city in China?’

- (41) 隻船, 係唔係, 今晚開身去天津呀? (VII.1)

‘Is the boat sailing to Tianjin tonight?’

while those of VP-neg-V date no later than 1877: ⁴⁶

- (42) 佢識字唔識呢? (p.7)

‘Is he literate?’

- (43) 重要買牛奶唔要呀 (p.16)

‘Do you still want to buy milk?’

Both types were loan forms at that time when the VP-neg form dominated the scene.

If the V-neg-VP form had been in use in the southern periphery of Northern Chinese in the 16th or the 19th century, Southern Min and Cantonese would have borrowed this form instead of the geographically more remote VP-neg-V form. In addition, there is yet no evidence that the V-neg-VP form was spoken north of the VP-neg-V form. The fact that nowadays the Dongbei area uses the V-neg-VP form, according to M. Zhang (1990), is due to immigration from the Jiaodong peninsula of

⁴⁵ Examples taken from Jones & Woo (1912). See Yue-Hashimoto (1993b) for details.

⁴⁶ Examples taken from Anonymous (1877). See Yue-Hashimoto 1993b) for details.

Shandong which employs the V-neg-VP form.

It is more difficult to pinpoint the homeland of the V-neg-VP form. The homeland probably borders the VP-neg-V form to its north and the VP-neg as well as the Adv-VP form to its south. In other words, it occupies the southern region of the Northern Mandarin dialects. There is one exception: the Jiaodong peninsula of Shandong, which lies to the east of both the VP-neg-V and the VP-neg areas, uses the V-neg-VP form. Unfortunately, there is little detailed information on the neutral question forms of these dialects so that it is difficult to decide if the V-neg-VP form is native of these dialects. However, if it is the case that the V-neg-VP form is a new development, it could have spread from the Southeastern Mandarin area along the coast. Further investigation and research need be conducted before it can be determined how the V-neg-VP form came about.

The present-day distribution of the V-neg-VP form, as a result of linguistic diffusion, far exceeds its original homeland. For example, it has penetrated metropolitan area almost everywhere—New Pekinese is a good example; it has penetrated the VP-neg area of the Yue dialects around the Pearl River delta as well as other dialect regions. Sixteen dialects investigated in detail by a Guangzhou team of field workers—Yang Jianguo 楊建國, Gao Ran 高然 and Zhong Qi 鍾奇 in 1992—all use the V-neg-VP form: **Guangzhou** 廣州, **Shenzhen** 深圳, **Zhuhai** 珠海, **Panyu Shiqiao** 番禺市橋, **Conghua** 從化, **Huaxian Huashan** 花縣花山, **Dongguan Guanchen** 東莞莞城, **Bao'an Shajingzhen** 寶安沙井鎮, **Zhongshan Shiqi** 中山石岐, **Sanshui Xinan** 三水西南, **Gaoming Mingcheng** 高明明城, **Shunde Daliang** 順德大良, **Nanhai Shatou** 南海沙頭, **Jiangmen Baisha** 江門白沙, **Xinhui** 新會, **Doumenzhen** 斗門鎮, **Heshan Yayao** 鶴山雅瑤, and **Enping Niujiang** 恩平牛江. However, the V-not-V form is non-native to the Yue dialect group since earlier record of the C19 as well as speakers from villages and cities of regions further away from the provincial capitol Canton show usage of the VP-neg form.

The **Miaoli** 苗栗 dialect of Taiwan Hakka illustrates a case of a dialect that is probably VP-neg in origin but has absorbed, like many Yue dialects, the V-prt-neg-VP form totally and rarely does a VP-neg form appear; for example ([na⁵⁵]=prt):⁴⁷

- (44) a. 其肯[na⁵⁵][m²²]肯來?
 ‘Is he willing to come?’
 b. 其天光日肯來無?
 ‘Is he willing to come tomorrow?’

⁴⁷ The Miaoli Hakka examples are due to Li Ming Kuang 黎明光, who is a native speaker of the dialect.

Another Hakka dialect that has adopted the V-neg-VP form is **Huiyang Lianghua** 惠陽良化 of Guangdong, where only 8 out of over 70 examples carry the VP-neg form:⁴⁸

- (45) a. 你看戲無(=[mɔ⁴⁴])?
 ‘Are you going to the play?’
 b. 你去唔(=[m])去看戲[ɔ⁴⁴]? *ibid*

As gathered from the above examples, [mɔ⁴⁴] is the contraction of the negative marker [m] + the final particle [ɔ⁴⁴] used in the V-not-V question form, which serves as an obvious case illustrating the formation of *neg* in the VP-neg form across dialects.

The Gan dialect of **Ji'an** 吉安 investigated by Dai Yaojing 戴耀晶 with 2 native speakers uses both the VP-neg as well as the V-not-V form.⁴⁹ Although it is most likely that the VP-neg form is native, the V-neg-VP form freely alternates with it, so that the dialect has become amphibious with respect to these two forms. For example:

- (46) a. 你們村有跳神個波(=[pɔ³])?
 ‘Does your village have a shaman?’
 b. 你們村有不有跳神個? *ibid*
 (47) a. 你爬得上波(=[pɔ³])?
 ‘Can you climb up?’
 b. 你爬不爬得上? / 你爬得上爬不上? *ibid*

Based on Chao et al. (1938), despite the scarcity of its grammatical materials, we can catch a glimpse of the question form in the Hubei dialects. Out of the 64 dialects, at least 25 show the use of the V-negVP form: Hankou 漢口, Hanchuan 漢川, Mianyang 沔陽, Tianmen 天門, Jingshan 京山, Jingmen 荊門, Zhijiang 枝江, Badong 巴東, Yuanxian 沅縣, Guanghua 光化, Zhongxiang 鍾祥, Anlu 安陸, Yingcheng 應城, Yunmeng 雲夢, Lishan 禮山, Huangpi 黃陂, Macheng 麻城, Luotian 羅田, Guangji 廣濟, Qichun 蘄春, Daye 大冶⁵⁰, Jiayu 嘉魚, Chongyang 崇陽, Tongcheng 通城 and Gong'an 公安. For example,

⁴⁸ The Huiyang dialect was investigated by the author with a 60-year old informant Hu Rundi 胡潤娣 in Hong Kong. Hu was born in Huiyang and left for Hong Kong when she was 18 years old. She had hardly any schooling.

⁴⁹ Xiao Yongchun 肖永春 and Xiao Shiyu 肖時雨 were two native speakers of the city dialect of Ji'an that Dai Yaojing worked with. Both were born and raised in Ji'an and have never left their native place and both had college education. At the time of investigation, Xiao Yongchun was 33 years old and Xiao Shiyu 26 years old.

⁵⁰ Among the 7 examples in the conversation, 3 are V-neg-V and 3 V-neg-VP, but there is one VP-neg-VP: [你]今天過江不過江? ‘Are you crossing the river today?’

- (48) (應城) 你們種不種大麥啊?
'Do you cultivate wheat?' (p.827).

According to investigation by Zhang Min, who carried out extensive field work on more than 70 dialects mostly in eastern Hubei in 1990-1991, 42 use the V-neg-VP form exclusively, among which are: **Ezhou** 鄂州, **Xiantao** 仙桃, **Tianmen** 天門, **Honghu** 洪湖, **Suixian Xihe** 隨縣淅河, **Qianjiang Yuanlin** 潛江園林, **Songzi** 松滋, **Jianli** 監利, **Wuchang** 武昌, **Hanyang** 漢陽, **Jiangling** 江陵 (**Chengguan** 城關, **Taihu** 太湖, **Qinshi** 秦市), **Shashi** 沙市, **Macheng Liangting** 麻城涼亭, **Jingmen Tuanlinpu** 荊門團林鋪, **Anlu** 安陸, **Daye Chengguan** 大冶城關, **Xingshan Gaoqiao** 興山高橋, **Jingshan Chengguan** 京山城關, **Yichang** 宜昌, **Laifeng** 來鳳, **Jiayu** 嘉魚, **Gong'an** 公安, **Zhongxiang Huji** 鍾祥胡集, **Yingcheng** 應城, **Yunmeng** 雲夢, **Hanchuan** 漢川, **Huanggang** 黃岡, **Xinzhou Chengguan** 新州城關, **Xishui** 浠水 (**Qingquan** 清泉, **Guankou** 關口).⁵¹ The following examples are cited from the Echeng (= Ezhou) dialect:

- (49) 你吃不吃烟?
'Do you smoke?'
- (50) 你有 不有/冒得 妹妹?
'Do you have s younger sister?'
- (51) 你可不可以去?
'Can you go?'

Other dialects investigated by Zhang Min that use the V-neg-VP form exclusively include **Lianshui** 漣水 (**Yangkouxiang** 楊口鄉, **Liangchaxiang** 梁叉鄉) and **Lianyungang** 連雲港 (**Xinpuqu** 新浦區, **Haizhouqu** 海州區) of central northern Jiangsu. The following is an example from Lianshui:

- (52) 他們相不相信你的話?
'Do they believe in your words?'

Dialects in central and eastern Sichuan such as **Daxian** 達縣, **Nanchong** 南充, **Mianyang** 綿陽, **Lezhi** 樂至, **Zizhong** 資中, **Neijiang** 內江, **Longchang** 隆昌, **Zigong** 自貢, **Weiyuan** 威遠, and those in the Jiaodong peninsula (**Qingdao** 青島,

⁵¹ Information based on Zhang Min's "V-not-V questions in Southwestern Mandarin" submitted as part of the Final Report to the NEH for the Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar Project.

Yantai 烟臺, Qixia 棲霞, Zhaoyuan 招遠, Laiyang 萊陽, etc.) are of the same V-neg-VP type according to M. Zhang (1990).

There are many dialects which use the V-neg-VP as its primary form along with VP-neg or Adv-VP as its secondary forms in these areas. Dialects that use the V-neg-VP form more frequently than the VP-neg form include many of Southwestern Mandarin: Huanggang 黃岡, Macheng 麻城; Anlu 安陸; Yingcheng 應城, Yunmeng 雲夢; Chengdu 成都, Chongqing 重慶, Jingmen 荊門, Tuanlinpu 團林鋪, Yichang 宜昌, Laifeng 來鳳, Xingshan 興山, Jiangling 江陵; Rongxian 榮縣, Suizhou 隨州, Zhongxiang 鍾祥, Qianjiang 潛江; Wuchang 武昌, Hanyang 漢陽, Jingshan 京山, Hanchuan 漢川; some of Southeastern Mandarin dialects such as: Shuyang 沭陽, Siyang 泗陽; and a few of Jiaoliao dialects such as: Jiaoxian 膠縣, Pingdu 平度, etc.

According to Z. Peng (1999), the Hengshan 衡山 dialect of Hunan uses both the V-neg-VP and the VP-neg form without specifying which is used more often. In a story as-recorded in Peng's data, however, the VP-neg form is used in an embedded clause:⁵²

- (53) 你趕快撈床被給我, 看還救喇活不
'Get me a sheet quick, see if he can be saved'

It is very likely that the VP-neg is the more colloquial form and may be considered the native form.

Many Southeastern Mandarin dialects use the V-neg-VP form along with the Adv-VP form, sometimes with the former more frequently than the latter, sometimes with the same frequency for both: Yangzhou 揚州, Hongze 洪澤, Sihong 泗洪, Huai'an 淮安, Xuyi 盱眙, Baoying 寶應, Huaiyin 淮陰. For reasons to be discussed in Part 2 we tend to think that the Adv-VP form is probably the native form of Southeastern Mandarin.

The Yizhang Chishi 宜章赤石 dialect of Xiang is described as using the V-neg-VP form according to R. Shen (1999). However, in the folk story 呂洞賓並蕭太一 'Lü Dongbin and Xiao Taiyi', there appears a VP-neg form, albeit in indirect speech:

「

- (54) 蕭太一笑一笑話: 你明日再赴放牛, 問佢出啲(=[·tei])嫁無? [p.261]
'Xiao Taiyi gave a smile and said: tomorrow you go to tend the cattle again and ask her if she has been engaged'

⁵² Z. Peng (1999) regards Hengshan a Xiang dialect. However, the system of initials have aspirated surds for descendants of the Ancient voiced initials, which according to Ting (1982), would not qualify it as a Xiang dialect characterized by unaspirated surds for such initials.

We consider that this dialect originally had the VP-neg as native and the V-neg-VP as an overlay or belonging to the loan stratum. It is not usual for a dialect to possess a VP-neg form in an embedded clause and not in a neutral question. It is most likely that the V-neg-VP has encroached upon the VP-neg enough to bring about the current situation with the exclusive use of the V-neg-VP form.

According to the investigation of Chen Zhongmin, the **Linhai** 臨海 dialect of Zhejiang and the **Haimen** 海門 dialect of Jiangsu primarily use the V-not-V form.⁵³ Since the Wu dialects normally topicalized the object, there are far more V-neg-V forms than others in these two dialects. In Linhai, however, when the verb is the copula, the Vex/poss, the Vloc and the Vopt, the form is V-neg-VP; and when the VP is in the potential, the VP-neg-VP form is used. While VP-neg is acceptable, it is seldom used, save when the VP contains an adverb, in which case, VP-neg is preferred. For example:

- (55) a. 你烟吃勿吃?
 ‘Do you smoke?’
 b. 渠是勿是你弟?
 ‘Is he your younger brother?’
 c. 外頭有無有人?
 ‘Is there someone outside?’
 d. 爬得上爬勿上?
 ‘Can [you] climb up?’
 e. 渠常常來勿?
 ‘Does he often come?’

The Haimen dialect uses more variety of the V-not-V form, including V-neg-VP, VP-neg-V and VP-neg-VP:

- (56) a. 你烟吃勒勿吃?
 ‘Do you smoke?’
 b. 伊是你兄弟勿? / 是勒勿是你兄弟?
 ‘Is he your younger brother?’
 c. 外頭有人勒不得(人)?
 ‘Is there someone outside?’
 d. 伊勒勒[tɕia⁵³ ho⁵³]勿勒[tɕia⁵³ ho⁵³]?
 ‘Is he here?’
 e. 伊一地來勒勿來? / 一地來勿?

⁵³ The native speaker for Linhai was Dong Xuejun 董學軍.

‘Does he often come?’

The Wenzhou 溫州 dialect recorded by Zheng-Zhang Shangfang 鄭張尚芳 in detail, uses V-neg-prt-V(P) everywhere but sometimes alternating with VP-prt-neg when the verb is the copula; when the verb is Vex/poss or a cognitive verb, the VP-prt-neg form is preferred:⁵⁴

- (57) a. 間裏暖啊不暖
 ‘Is it hot in the room?’
 b. 渠個事幹你曉得曉不得 / 你曉得啊不
 ‘Do you know of his affairs?’
 c. 渠是你阿弟啊不 / 是不是你阿弟
 ‘Is he your younger brother?’
 d. 你有鈔票啊無 / 你鈔票有(啊/也)無啊
 ‘Do you have money?’

The fact that there are cases where VP-neg must be used or serves as an alternative form, it still seems that VP-neg was the native form of these three dialects, although it was largely replaced by the V-not-V form. We shall refer to this version of Wenzhou as **Wenzhou1**.

Min dialects such as Fuzhou 福州, Fuqing 福清 and Jian’ou 建甌 chiefly use the V-neg-VP form. Even when the verb is Vex/poss, either the V-neg-VP or the VP-neg form can be used. For example in Fuqing:

- (58) 有看電影無? / 汝有無看電影?
 ‘Are you going to the movies?’⁵⁵

and similarly in Fuzhou:

- (59) 汝有錢無? / 汝有無錢?
 ‘Do you have money?’⁵⁶

In D. Huang (1957), it is stated that “the interrogative [of Jian’ou] uses the ‘有...無’ form like other Fujian dialects.” For example:

⁵⁴ But see section 3.3.3 for another speaker of Wenzhou who uses both types with equal frequency.

⁵⁵ Examples taken from A. Feng (1993:26).

⁵⁶ Examples taken from Z. Chen (1998:174).

- (60) 你有本事吃毛?
‘Do you have the capability of eating [it]?’⁵⁷

By the late 1990’s, the V-neg-VP and VP-neg-V are all in free variation, while VP-neg seems to be used when a modal is present:⁵⁸

- (61) [iɔŋ²⁴]一本書會次得勿會
‘[Can I] have a look at this book?’

However, in the early 20th century, it is likely that Fuzhou and other Northern Min dialects used the VP-neg form. In the *Foochow Colloquial New Testament* of 1904 there are many examples of VP-neg. The following are from the Gospel According to Saint Matthew:

- (62) là-Sǔ gâeng ĭ gōng, Cīā bī-ē – u –, nū-gáuk-nè – ng â – huǒi – nguǒ mǎ?
[13.51]
‘Jesus saith unto them, Have ye understood all these things?’ [12.10]
(63) ǎng – sĕk – nĭk tǎ nĕng muǒk bǎng ǎ sǎi dĕk mǎ?
‘Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days?’

Both [mǎ] 無 and [mǎ] 嗎 served as *neg* at that time.

3.2.3 V-V

A V-V type can be distinguished in certain Southeastern Mandarin, Min, Wu, Gan, Hakka and even Yue dialects, all spoken around the eastern coastal provinces. This is either the result of the contraction of *neg* with V or of the ellipsis of *neg* in the V-neg-V form. The *neg* + V contraction type is found in Fuzhou (Min) and Liancheng 連城 (Hakka) while the *neg* > 0 type is found in the Wu dialects of Shaoxing 紹興, Zhuji 諸暨, Wuyi 武義, Jinhua 金華 and Shengxian 嵊縣 as well as the Southeastern Mandarin dialects of Siyang, Shuyang, Lianshui, Hongze and Huaiyin.⁵⁹ The case of

⁵⁷ See p. 295, opus cited. The phonetic form of 毛 is [mau²] in the yang-ping tone. It is the negative counterpart of Vex/poss or 無.

⁵⁸ See Li & Pan (1998:17). 勿會 is to be regarded as one single graph.

⁵⁹ See D. Zhu (1990) for details. It should be pointed out that this kind of abbreviated V-not-V question form also exists in certain Yi languages of the Tibeto-Burman group (Nasu, Sani, etc.).

the Liancheng dialect has already been described in detail in M. Xiang (1990) and (1997), that of Fuzhou and of Southeastern Mandarin in M. Zhang (1990). What we want to elaborate here is the case of **Shaoxing**, which uses the V-V contraction form as its major neutral question form, although V-neg-V is possible, it is infrequently used.⁶⁰ Like a number of other Wu dialects (for example, Haimen 海門, Anji 安吉, Pingyang 平陽, Wuyi 武義, Qingtian 青田), object NPs are generally topicalized unless the verb is the copula 是; for example:

- (64) 若茶葉鷄子吃吃?
'Do you eat tea-leaves-eggs?'
(65) 桌子高頭茶杯有有?
'Is there a teacup on the table?'

but:

- (66) 伊是是佬個阿哥?
'Is he your elder brother?'

This contracted V-V form even occurs as embedded statement if the latter is in a postverbal position:

- (67) [tse?⁵]我話佬屋買買
'Tell me whether you are going to buy a house'

The noncontracted V-not-V form, though not commonly used for neutral questions, occurs most frequently as embedded statement in a preverbal position:

- (68) 相勿相信都[n³][nɿ³]事體
'It doesn't matter whether you believe it or not'

For Yue dialects, only Shunde Chencun 順德陳村 as described in Ball (1900-01) is known to have had a V-V neutral question form that no longer exists. Ball described the difference between Cantonese and Shuntak (Cantonese pronunciation of Shunde) and the neutral question form is one of it. Three examples are given:

- (69) a. 係係呀? haí* haǐ á?

⁶⁰ The Shaoxing dialect was investigated by Chen Zhongmin 陳忠敏.

- ‘Is it true?’
 b. 去去呀? ⁵höü* höü á?
 ‘Are [you] going?’
 c. 曉曉呀? ⁵hiú* hiú á?
 ‘Do [you] understand?’

The asterisk signifies a ‘variant tone’, which is equivalent to what is generally termed *bianyin* or morphologically conditioned tone change equivalent to the so-called *er-hua* 兒化 of Pekinese, while the four-corner marking is used to designate the traditional tone categories: for example [[˥]] marks the Yin-Shang tone and [^{˨˩˦}] the Yang-Qu tone.

If the V-V form is indeed a contracted form of the V-neg-VP, an interesting question arises as to whether by the beginning of the 20th century the V-neg-VP form, or at least the V-not-V type, was already widely used in Shunde, to the extent that it resulted in a contracted form. Ball (1900-01) stresses that the common Cantonese forms such as 係唔係 ‘Is it not?’, 去唔去 ‘Going or not?’, 曉唔曉 ‘Know or not?’ are ‘changed’ into the V-V forms given in the set of three examples above.

Unfortunately no other question forms are found in his article to enable us to tell if only V-neg-V was used or V-neg-VP was also used.

An illuminating case can be found in the Yudu Chengguan Gongjiangzhen 雲都城關貢江鎮 Hakka as reported in L. Xie (1998). While a reduplication of the verb is used with the tone of the first syllable of the verb or a modal verb rendered in the Entering tone which has the value of [25] (designated by a superscript [⁵] by the author), if the VP has an object NP, it is not topicalized but remains after the verb and its reduplicate or just the first syllable of the reduplicate, forming the shape of V⁵VO that is basically similar to V-neg-VP, considering V⁵ a merger of V + *neg*.⁶¹ Since 不 in this dialect is read [pu] in its sandhi form, the change of tone to [25] in the first reduplicate can plausibly be analyzed as V + [pue?], giving exactly V-neg-VP.

- (70) a. 繩子猛⁵猛
 ‘Is the rope long?’
 b. 佢係⁵(係)你老弟
 ‘Is he your younger brother?’
 c. 桶裡無⁵(無)水
 ‘Is there water in the bucket?’

This layout supports the thesis that the V-V form results from incorporation of the *neg*

⁶¹ The modal may occur in optional reduplication if it appears: 你會⁵(曾)吃飯 ‘have you eaten yet?’

with the verb or first syllable of the verb preceding it in the V-neg-V(P) question form, leaving a trace of the *neg* in the tonal change.

3.2.4 Summary

The following chart summarizes the distribution of dialects of various sub-types of the V-not-V form discussed above.

Chart 2. The V-not-V sub-types in the modern dialects⁶²

	Man- darin North	NW	SW	SE ⁶³	Wu and Hui- zhou	Xiang	Gan	Hakka	Yue	Min
VPnegVP or VPnegV	河北-- old 北 京 河南-- 獲嘉, 鄭州	甘肅-- 蘭州 1							廣東-- 肇慶 廣西-- 南寧	
VPnegV [native], VnegVP	河北-- 新北京 河南-- 上蔡, 溫縣, 開封, 洛陽 山東-- 臨邑	陝西-- 西安 山西-- 洪洞					江西-- 靖安, 豐城, 蓮花			
VnegVP, VPnegV [native]	山東-- 膠縣, 平度, 福山	甘肅-- 蘭州 2	湖北-- 黃岡,麻城, 安陸,應城, 雲夢,成都, 重慶,荊門 團林鋪,宜 昌,來鳳,興 山,江陵,榮 縣隨州,鍾 祥,潛江,武 昌,漢陽,京 山,漢川	江蘇-- 沔陽城 關,泗陽 城關						
	山東--		湖北--	江蘇--	江蘇--	湖南--		福建--	廣東--	

⁶² For equal frequency in usage between the V-not-V types and either the VP-neg or Adv-VP, see Chart 1.

⁶³ All the prefectures in Jiangsu province were investigated by Zhang Min in detail 1990-92, the information of which overrides that in M. Zhang (1990).

VnegVP	青島, 烟臺, 棲霞, 招遠, 萊陽, 即墨, 濟南 黑龍江 -- 哈爾濱, 伊春		漢口城, 漢川麻河渡, 沔陽仙桃鎮, 天門乾鎮, 京山永隆河, 荊門團林鋪, 枝江城, 巴東平陽河, 鄖縣城, 光化城, 鍾祥城, 安陸城, 應城, 雲夢城, 禮山三里城, 黃陂祁家灣, 麻城宋埠, 羅田多雲, 廣濟武穴, 蘄春漕河, 大冶城, 嘉魚簾州, 崇陽白霓橋, 通城十里市, 公安淤泥湖, ⁶⁴ 鄂州, 仙桃, 天門, 洪湖, 隨縣, 淅河, 潛江園林鎮, 松滋, 監利, 武昌, 漢陽, 江陵(城關, 太湖, 秦市), 沙市, 麻城涼亭, 荊門團林鋪, 安陸, 大冶城關, 興山高橋, 京山城關, 宜昌, 來鳳, 嘉魚, 公安城關,	漣水(楊口鄉, 梁岔鄉), 連雲港(新浦, 海州), 灌雲(板浦), 連雲港, 灌雲, 灌南, 贛榆, 沭陽, 茆墟, 漣水, 淮陰, 淮安, 泗陽鄭樓, 金湖黎城, 洪澤岔河, 盱眙(東鄉, 貽城), 寶應(汜水, 縣城), 鹽城, 揚州, 儀征(城區, 謝集), 南京, 江浦石橋, 江寧, 溧水, 烏山, 墟溝, 安徽--郎溪, 樅陽, 至德, 宣城, 來安, 蕪湖, 巢湖	海門 ⁶⁶ 浙江--杭州, 溫州 1 安徽--歙縣, 休寧, 績溪, 黟縣, 屯溪市, 祁門, 婺源	new 宜章 赤石		永定 江西--全南 廣西--陸川 四川--華陽 涼水井	廣州, 深圳, 珠海, 番禺市橋, 從化, 花縣, 花山, 寶安, 東莞, 莞城, 寶安沙井鎮, 中山, 石岐, 三水, 西南, 高明, 明城, 順德, 大良, 南海, 沙頭, 江門, 白沙, 新會, 斗門鎮, 鶴山, 雅瑤, 恩平, 牛江, ⁶⁷ 香港	
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⁶⁴ All the localities up to this point are based on Chao et al. (1938).

⁶⁵ The above localities are based on Zhang Min's field work.

⁶⁶ Haimen also uses VP-neg-V and VP-neg-VP in a limited way.

⁶⁷ Conghua, Bao'an, Zengcheng, Huaxian and Dongguan were investigated by Yang Jianguo 楊建國, and the rest by Gao Ran 高然 and Zhong Qi 鍾奇.

			鍾祥胡集, 應城雲夢, 漢川黃岡, 新州城關, 浠水(清泉, 關口) ⁶⁵ 湖南-- 常德,臨武, 安仁,安鄉 四川-- 達縣,南充, 綿陽,樂至, 資中,內江, 隆昌,白貢, 威遠							
V·V					浙江-- 紹興			江西-- 零都 貢江 鎮	廣東-- C 19 順德陳 村	
<u>VnegVP</u> , V·VP, VPneg				江蘇-- 泗陽(愛 園,王集, 鄭樓),流 陽,漣水, 淮陰,洪 澤(岔河)	江蘇-- 丹陽 後巷 鄉童 家橋), 金壇 西崗) 浙江-- 諸暨, 武義, 金華, 嵊縣			福建-- 連城		
VnegVP, AdvVP [native]	山東-- 文登, 榮成			江蘇-- 淮安(淮 城鎮,河 下鎮),盱 眙東鄉, 洪澤(蔣 壩,高良 潤,東雙 溝),寶應 ⁶⁸ (縣城, 汜水鎮, 西安豐 鎮),泗洪, 句容陳 武鄉,揚 州						

⁶⁸ Old Baoying used the VP-neg-VP form or the Adv-VP according to M. Zhang (1990).

V-negVP V·VP, Adv-VP [native]				江蘇-- 淮陰						
VnegVP, VPneg [native]	遼寧-- 瀋陽, 大連 吉林-- 長春 內蒙-- 赤峰, 敖漢 山東-- old 濟 南	山西-- 太原 ⁶⁹ 甘肅-- 天水 青海-- 同仁	湖北-- 武漢,大冶 羅橋,武漢; 湖南-- 衡山 四川-- 宜賓,榮縣, 綿陽城郊, 重慶,成都	江蘇-- 丹陽縣 城, 臨海, ⁷⁰ 浙江-- 溫州 ² , 平陽, 樂清, 武義, 東陽		湖南-- old 宜 章赤 石	江西-- 吉安	臺灣-- 苗栗 廣東 --惠 陽良 化	廣東-- 增城, 陽江 ⁷¹	福建-- 福州 倉山, 建甌, 福清, 泉州 廣東-- 饒平黃 崗鎮, 海康調 鳳鎮 海南-- 海口, 文昌抱 羅鎮 浙江-- 平陽
VPnegVP or VPneg		寧夏-- 同心								
VPnegV or VPneg, VPnegVP			四川--成都							
VPnegV or VPnegVP VnegVP		甘肅 ---敦 煌	四川--瀘州							

NB: underlined items are the majority in occurrence

Appendix 1: INFORMANT BACKGROUND Check List 發音人語言背景

1. NAME 姓名 _____
2. M 男 ____ F 女 ____
3. AGE 年齡 _____
4. NATIVE PLACE 原籍 _____

⁶⁹ While the majority pattern in Taiyuan is V-neg-VP, questions with Vex/poss 有 bear either the VP-neg-V or the V-neg-VP form but some have the VP-neg form as variant. For example: 你有錢沒有? / 有沒有錢? ‘Do you have money?’ 你家養雞沒啦? / 你家養沒養雞? ‘Does your family raise chickens?’—

⁷⁰ Linhai also uses VP-neg-VP within limited context.

⁷¹ Yangjiang also uses VP-neg.

5. NATIVE DIALECT 母語 _____
6. PLACE OF BIRTH 出生地 _____
7. OCCUPATION 職業 _____
8. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
曾否上小學 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) _____
9. MIDDLE SCHOOL ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
曾否上初中 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) _____
10. HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
曾否上高中 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) _____
11. COLLEGE ATTENDED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
曾否上大學 (在哪兒上的? 上過幾年?) _____
12. DIALECT(S) USED AT HOME
家裡使用的方言 _____
13. DIALECT SPOKEN AT HOME BY FATHER
父親使用的方言 _____
14. DIALECT SPOKEN AT HOME BY MOTHER
母親使用的方言 _____
15. DIALECT SPOKEN AT HOME BY CARETAKER
褓母使用的方言 _____
16. DIALECT SPOKEN OUTSIDE HOME IF DIFFERENT
家庭外使用的方言 _____
17. PLACES OF RESIDENCE AFTER BIRTH & DIALECTS SPOKEN LOCALLY
出生後住過的地方(住過多久)及當地方言 _____
18. PLACES VISITED (WHERE & HOW LONG?)
短期訪問過的地方 (哪兒? 多久?) _____
19. KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER DIALECTS & LANGUAGES
其他聽懂或會說的語言及方言 _____
20. HOW MANY VARIETIES ARE THERE OF YOUR NATIVE DIALECT?
母語有幾種口音? (城裏, 城外, 鄉下 ...) _____
21. WHICH OF THESE VARIETIES IS YOUR NATIVE TONGUE?
你說的是哪一種口音? _____
22. WHAT OTHER DIALECTS OR LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN IN THE AREA?
當地還說哪些語言? 哪些方言? _____

Appendix 2: Questionnaire of the Neutral Question Form

A. V-Neg-V QUESTION

1. V-NEG-V

(1) 去

[1] 那個地方, 你去不去? ____ 去/不去

Are you going to that place? ____ Yes/No

[2] 下午去游泳不去? / 去不去游泳? ____ 去/不去

Will you go swimming this afternoon? ____ Yes/No

[3] 你現在 去學習不去? / 去不去學習? ____ 我現在去/不去

Do you want to go to study now? ____ Yes/No

(2) 來

[1] 你明天來不來? ____ 我明天來/不來

Are you coming tomorrow? ____ Yes/No

(3) 吃

[1] 吃不吃? ____ 吃/不吃

Do you want to eat now? ____ Yes/No

[2] 那塊牛肉你吃不吃? ____ 吃/不吃

Do you want to eat that piece of beef? ____ Yes/No

(4) 說

[1] 這種話, 你說不說? ____ 我說/不說

Will you say it? ____ Yes/No

(5) 知道

[1] 他的事, 知道不知道? / 知不知道? / *知道不知? ____ 知道/不知道

Do you know of his affairs? ____ Yes/No

(6) 認得

[1] 這個人, 你 認得不認得? / 認不認得? / *認得不認? ____ 認得/不認得

Do you recognize this person? ____ Yes/No

(7) 相信

[1] 那件事, 你相信不相信? / 相不相信? / *相信不相? ____ 相信/不相信

Do you believe that? ____ Yes/No

(8) 答應

[1] 這件事, 你答應不答應? / 答不答應? / *答應不答? ____ 答應/不答應

Do you promise? ____ Yes/No

2. ADJ NEG ADJ

(1) 香

[1] 香不香? ____ 香/不香

Is it fragrant? ____ Yes/No

- [2] 你聞聞 這朵花香不香? _____ 香/不香
Smell this flower to see if it is fragrant. _____ Yes/No
- (2) 甜
- [1] 本地的 XX 甜不甜? _____ 甜/不甜
Are the local XX sweet? _____ Yes/No
- [2] 你的西瓜甜不甜? _____ 甜/不甜
Is your watermelon sweet? _____ Yes/No
- (3) 熱
- [1] 屋子裡熱不熱? _____ 熱/不熱
Is it hot in the room? _____ Yes/No
- (4) 好
- [1] 你看好不好? _____ 很好/不好
What do you think of it? _____ Good/No good
- [2] 這本書好不好? _____ 很好/不好
Is this book good? _____ Yes/No
- (5) 熟
- [1] 飯熟不熟? _____ 熟/不熟
Is the rice cooked? _____ Yes/No
- (6) 亮
- [1] 天亮不亮? _____ 亮/不亮
Is the sky bright? _____ Yes/No
- (7) 漂亮
- [1] 這條裙子 漂亮不漂亮?/ 漂不漂亮?/ _____ 漂亮/不漂亮
Is this skirt pretty? _____ Yes/No
- (8) 高興
- [1] 他 高興不高興?/ 高不高興? _____ 高興/不高興
Is he happy? _____ Yes/No
- (9) 用功
- [1] 他 用功不用功?/ 用不用功? _____ 用功/不用功
Does he work hard? _____ Yes/No

3. VO NEG V? or V NEG VO?

- (1) 上街
- [1] 你 上街不上?/ 上不上街? _____ 上/不上
Are you going down town? _____ Yes/No
- (2) 吃 + O
- [1] 你 吃茶葉蛋不吃?/ 吃不吃茶葉蛋? _____
Do you (want to) eat tea eggs? _____ Yes/No 吃/不吃
- [2] 你吃牛肉不吃? / 吃不吃牛肉? _____ 吃/不吃

- Do you eat beef? _____ Yes/No
- (3) 看 + O
- [1] 你 看電影不看? / 看不看電影? _____ 看/不看
Do you want to watch a movie? _____ Yes/No
- (4) 懂 + O
- [1] 你 懂北京話不懂? / 懂不懂北京話? _____ 懂/不懂
Do you understand the Beijing dialect? _____ Yes/No
- (5) 穿 + O
- [1] 你 穿雨衣不穿/穿不穿雨衣? _____ 穿/不穿
Are you going to wear a raincoat? _____ Yes/No
- (6) 喝 + O
- [1] 你 喝涼茶不喝/喝不喝涼茶? _____ 喝/不喝
Do you drink herbal tea? _____ Yes/No
- (7) 抽煙
- [1] 你 抽煙不抽? / 抽不抽煙? _____ 抽/不抽
Do you smoke? _____ Yes/No
- (8) 打牌
- [1] 你 打牌不打? / 打不打牌? _____ 打/不打
Do you play cards? _____ Yes/No
- (9) 會
- [1] 你 會打牌不會? / 會不會打牌? _____ 會/不會
Can you play cards? _____ Yes/No
- (10) 知道
- [1] 你 知道他叫什麼名字不知道? / *知道他叫甚麼名字不知? / 知道不知道
他叫什麼名字? / 知不知道他叫什麼名字? _____ 知道/不知道
Do you know his name? _____ Yes/No
- (11) 認得
- [1] 你們 認得那個人不認得? / *認得那個人不認? / 認不認得那個人?
_____ 認得/不認得
Do you recognize that person? _____ Yes/No
- (12) 相信
- [1] 他們 相信你的話不相信? / *相信你的話不相? / 相信不相信你的話?
/ 相不相信你的話? _____ 相信/不相信
Do they believe what you said? _____ Yes/No
- (13) 答應
- [1] 他 答應做不答應? / *答應做不答? / 答應不答應做? / 答不答應做?
_____ 答應/不答應
Did he promise to do it? _____ Yes/No

4. COPULA 是

- (1) 老王 是 XX 人不是? /是不是 XX 人? ____是/不是
Is Lao Wang from XX? ____Yes/No
- (2) 他 是你弟弟不是? /是不是你弟弟 ____是/不是
Is he your younger brother? ____Yes/No
- (3) 他 是你哥哥不是? /是不是你哥哥? ____是/不是
Is he your elder brother? ____Yes/No
- (4) 他 是老師不是? /是不是老師? ____是/不是
Is he a teacher? ____Yes/No
- (5) 你說的 是北京話不是? /是不是本地話? ____是/不是
Is what you speak the Beijing dialect? ____Yes/No
- (6) 你 是學生不是? /是不是學生? ____是/不是
Are you a student? ____Yes/No

5. EXISTENTIAL

- (1) 有
- [1] 你 有錢沒有? /有沒有錢? ____有/沒有
Do you have money? ____Yes/No
- [2] 他們 有書沒有? /有沒有書? ____有/沒有
Do they have books? ____Yes/No
- [3] 桌上 有茶杯沒有? /有沒有茶杯? ____
Is there a teacup on the table? ____Yes/No 有/沒有
- [4] 你們家 有花園沒有? /有沒有花園? ____有/沒有
Does your home have a garden? ____Yes/No
- [5] 你們家 養雞沒養? /養沒養雞? / 有沒有養雞? ____養了/有/沒養/沒有
Does your family raise chickens? ____Yes/No
- [6] 你們家孩子 學琴沒學? /學沒學琴? ____學了/沒學/有/沒有
Do the children in your family study piano? ____Yes/No
- [7] 外面 有人沒有? /有沒有人? ____有/沒有
Is there anyone outside? ____Yes/No
- [8] 還 有藥沒有? /有沒有藥? ____有/沒有
Is there any medicine left? ____Yes/No
- [9] 你 有妹妹沒有? /有沒有妹妹? ____有/沒有
Do you have a younger sister? ____Yes/No
- [10] 你 有空兒沒有? /有沒有空兒? ____有/沒有
Do you have free time? ____Yes/No
- [11] 你 有電視沒有? /有沒有電視? ____有/沒有
Do you have a TV at home? ____Yes/No
- [12] 還 有飯沒有? /有沒有飯? ____有/沒有

Is there any rice left? _____ Yes/No

(2) 在

[1] 那封信還 在抽屜裡不在? /在不在抽屜裡? _____還在/不在了

Is that letter still in the drawer? _____ Yes/No

[2] 他在不在? _____在/不在

Is he in? _____ Yes/No

[3] 他 在家不在? /在不在家? _____在/不在

Is he at home? _____ Yes/No

6. AUX V (O) NEG AUX or AUX NEG AUX V(O)?

(1) 能

[1] 你 能去不能? /能不能去? _____能(去)/不能(去)

Are you able to go? _____ Yes/No

[2] 你 能完成任務不能? /能不能完成任務? _____能/不能

Are you able to accomplish the mission? _____ Yes/No

(2) 要

[1] 你 要來不要? /要不要來? _____要/不要

Do you want to come? _____ Yes/No

[2] 要吃不要? / 要不要吃? _____要/不要

Do you want to eat? _____ Yes/No

[3] 要 喝點茶不要? /要不要喝點茶? _____要/不要

Do you want to drink some tea? _____ Yes/No

(3) 會

[1] 你說他 會來不會? /會不會來? _____會/不會

Do you think he will come? _____ Yes/No

(4) 肯

[1] 他 肯來不肯? /肯不肯來? _____肯來/不肯來

Is he willing to come? _____ Yes/No

[2] 他明天 肯來不肯? /肯不肯來? _____肯/不肯

Is he willing to come tomorrow? _____ Yes/No

(5) 敢

[1] 你 敢問他不敢? /敢不敢問他? _____

Do you dare ask him? _____ Yes/No 敢/不敢

(6) 可以

[1] 你 可以給我一點錢不可以? /可(以)不可以給我一點錢?

_____可以/不可以

Can you give me some money? _____ Yes/No

(7) 應該

[1] 我 應該買不應該? /應(該)不應該買? _____應該/不應該

Should I buy it? _____ Yes/No

(8) 喜歡

[1] 你喜歡 喜歡看電影不喜歡? /喜(歡)不喜歡看電影? _____ 喜歡/不喜歡

Do you like to watch movies? _____ Yes/No

7. POTENTIAL

(1) 吃

[1] 吃得下吃不下? _____ 吃得下/吃不下

Can you eat any more? _____ Yes/No

(2) 爬

[1] 爬得上爬不上? _____ 爬得上/爬不上

Can you climb up? _____ Yes/No

(3) 拿

[1] 拿得動拿不動? _____ 拿得動/拿不動

Can you lift it? _____ Yes/No

(4) 看見

[1] 那麼遠, 你看得見看不見? _____ 看得見/看不見

Can you see it so far away? _____ Yes/No

(5) 講

[1] 他講得清楚講不清楚? _____ 講得清楚/講不清楚

Can he speak clearly? _____ Yes/No

8. EMPHATIC

(1) 你是不是不相信? _____ 是/不是

Is it that you don't believe? _____ Yes/No

9. ASPECTS

(甲) 了

(1) 來了

[1] 他來了沒有? _____ 來了/沒來 or 還沒來

i. Did he come? _____ Yes/No

ii. Has he come? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

[2] 他昨天來了沒有? _____ 來了/沒來

Did he come yesterday? _____ Yes/No

[3] 他現在來了沒有? _____ 來了/沒來 or 還沒來

Has he come yet? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

(2) 去了

[1] 你去了沒有? _____ 去了/沒去

Did you go? _____ Yes/No

(3) 天黑了

[1] 天黑了沒有? _____ 天黑了/還沒黑

Is it dark yet? _____ Yes/Not yet

(4) 說了

[1] 你說了沒有? _____ 說了/沒說 or 還沒說

i. Did you say it? _____ Yes/No

ii. Have you said it? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

(5) 吃了

[1] 你吃(飯)了沒有? _____ 吃了 or 吃過了/沒吃 or 還沒吃

i. Did you eat? _____ Yes/No

ii. Have you eaten? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

[2] 牛肉你吃了沒有? _____ 吃了/沒吃 or 還沒吃

i. Did you eat the beef? _____ Yes/No

ii. Have you eaten the beef? _____ Yes/No/not yet

[3] 他昨天晚上吃了點心沒有? _____ 吃了/沒吃

Did he eat the snack last night? _____ Yes/No

(6) 有

[1] 你有錄音機了沒有? _____ 有了/還沒有

Have you gotten a tape recorder yet? _____ Yes, I have / No, I haven't

(7) 到

[1] 他到北京了沒有? _____ 到了/還沒到

Has he arrived in Beijing? _____ Yes/Not yet

(8) 聽懂

[1] 你聽懂了沒有? _____ 聽懂了/沒聽懂

Did you understand? _____ Yes/No

(9) 做完

[1] 你的作業做完了沒有? _____ 做完了/還沒做完

Have you finished your home work? _____ Yes/Not yet

(乙) 過

(1) 去過

[1] 你去過沒有啊? _____ 去過/沒去過/還沒去過

i. Have you ever been there? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

ii. Have you been (there) yet? _____ Yes/Not yet

(2) 吃過

[1] 你吃過羊肉沒有? _____ 吃過/沒吃過 or 還沒吃過

Have you ever eaten mutton? _____ Yes/No/Not yet

10. WITH ADV

(1) 常

[1] 他 常來不常來?/ 常不常來? _____ 常來/不常來

Does he come often? _____ Yes/No

- [2] 他 常吃北京菜不常吃? /常不常吃北京菜?/常吃不常吃北京菜?
*常吃北京菜不常? ____ 常吃/不常吃
Does he eat Pekinese food often? ____ Yes/No

11. WITH PREPOSITIONS

(1) 跟

- [1] 你 跟不跟他去? /*跟他去不跟? ____ 跟(他去)/不跟(他去)
Are you going with him? ____ Yes/No

(2) 比

- [1] 他比不比你胖? ____ 比(我胖)/不比(我胖)
Is he fatter than you? ____ Yes/No

B. V-NOT-V STATEMENT

1. As Subject

(1) 睡

- [1] 睡不睡沒關係
It doesn't matter whether (I) sleep or not.

(2) 去

- [1] 去不去由你
Whether you go or not is up to you.
[2] 去不去你自己拿主意
You decide whether you will go or not.

(3) 來

- [1] 來不來你自己瞧著辦
It's up to you whether or not you come.

(4) 買

- [1] 買不買隨你
It's up to you whether you buy it or not.

(5) 洗

- [1] 洗不洗都行
It's all the same whether you wash it or not.

(6) 說

- [1] 說不說就這麼回事
This is the way it is whether you talk about it.

(7) 知道

- [1] 知道不知道這件事都沒關係
It doesn't matter whether you know about this matter or not.

(8) 相信

- [1] 相信不相信都沒關係
It doesn't matter whether you believe this or not.

- (9) 好
[1] 好不好沒關係
It doesn't matter whether it is good or not.
2. As Object
- (1) 有
[1] 你別問他 有太太沒有 / 有沒有太太
Don't ask him whether he has a wife or not.
- (2) 要
[1] 你問問他 要錢不要 / 要不要錢
Ask him if he wants the money or not.
- (3) 來
[1] 我不知道他們來不來
I don't know whether they are coming or not.
- (4) 買
[1] 告訴我你買不買房子
Tell me whether you are going to buy a house.
- (5) 香
[1] 你來聞聞這朵花香不香?
Come smell this flower and see if it smells good.
- (6) 行
[1] 你來看看這樣做行不行
Come take a look and see if doing it this way is all right.
- (7) 好看
[1] 你來試試這件衣服好不好看/
Come try on this piece of clothing and see how it looks.
- (8) 喜歡
[1] 我知道他喜(歡)不喜歡那個人
I know whether or not he likes that person.

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漢語句法類型學（第一部分）： 中性問形式——V-not-V

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論文分三章，以中性問句，定中結構，名詞化結構為例，討論研究漢語方言語法類型的問題。本文是第一章，探討研究漢語方言語法類型的方法，著重先辨別因語言接觸發生變化所帶來的複雜交錯的語言層次，再勾劃出不同層次的類型，并用這個方法論述三種中性問句之一的反復問句共時歷時的類型布局。

關鍵詞：類型學，句法，中性問，漢語，V-not-V 問句

漢語與苗瑤語同源關係的檢討

龔煌城

中央研究院

1. 引言

漢語與苗瑤語之間存在相當數量的音義相似的詞彙，這些語詞究竟是同源詞還是借詞，乃是決定漢語與苗瑤語是否屬於同一語支的關鍵。本文針對此一問題，將過去學者研究漢語與苗瑤語的系屬關係所提出的「同源詞」，加以收集；另一方面也直接從苗瑤語的語料中收集了苗瑤語與漢語音義都接近的詞彙，加以分類整理，並且從原始漢藏語音韻系統的觀點，參照確實可靠的漢語與藏緬語之間的同源詞，重新加以檢討，以了解其真正的性質。

過去學者所作的漢語與苗瑤語的比較研究，主要都是將漢語與個別的幾個苗語與瑤語加以比較，而都未把構擬的原始苗瑤語包含進去，直到陳其光（2001）才將他自己所構擬的原始苗瑤語與漢語上古音比較。另一方面，過去的比較研究幾乎都是僅僅比較漢語與苗瑤語，而從未把藏緬語同源詞也同時放進去加以考量。本文將過去學者所提出的漢語與苗瑤語的同源詞（特別是陳其光、李永燧 1980, 1981；王輔世 1986；陳其光 1990, 2001 等）及本文所收集的漢語與苗瑤語音義接近的詞彙，改寫成王輔世、毛宗武（1995）所構擬的原始苗瑤語，在必要時並加上作者認為可靠的、相關的漢語與藏緬語的同源詞（Gong 1995；龔 2000, 2001, 2003）作比較檢討，發現下面幾個現象。

2. 漢語與苗瑤語的關係詞

2.1 漢語與藏緬語的同源詞與漢語與苗瑤語的相關語詞之間很少有共同性。漢語與藏緬語的同源詞包含很多基本辭彙，但是這些詞彙在苗瑤語都很少有關係詞。例如：

上古漢語¹：原始藏緬語²：原始苗瑤語¹³：原始苗瑤語²⁴

- 「吾」 *ŋag : *ŋa : *kə:ŋ 我_一，*vo:ŋ 我_二，*ʔzə 我_三⁵：？⁶
 「汝」 *njagx : *na : *mwu : *mi^平
 「耳」 *njəgx : *r-na : *mbdzai : *mbrau^平
 「目」 *mjikw : *mik : *mwæi : *mɛi^去
 「口」 *khugx : *kuw : *ŋdzu:i, *ŋtʃwɛt⁷ : *ndzjui^平嘴，*ʔlo^去口，嘴
 「腹」 *phjəkw, *bjəkw : *pu·k~buk : *tɕhoi : ？
 「乳」 *njugx : *nuw : ma, mi, və⁸：？
 「頤」 *gəm : *gam : *dzei^{D 9}：？
 「血」 *hwit : *s-hwiw : *ŋtʃhja:m : *ntshram^上
 「屎」 *hljidx : *kliw¹⁰ : qai : *qai^上
 「死」 *sjidx : *siy : *dai : *dai^去
 「飲」 *jəm (*həp 喝) : *am : *həp¹¹ : hup^入
 「咀」 *dzjag : *dza 吃 : *njen 吃，*tɕai 嚼 : *njen^去，*nam^平吃¹²，*tsjai^去嚼
 「魚」 *njag : *ŋya : *mbdzau : *mbrau^上
 「牛」 *ŋwəg : *ŋwa : *ŋə:ŋ : *ŋjəŋ^平
 「蟲」 *srjit : *s-rik : *təm : *təm^平
 「子」 *tsjəgx : *tsa : *twan, ton : *ton^平

¹ 本文所引用的上古漢語係根據李方桂（1971）的構擬。

² 本文所引用的原始藏緬語係根據 Benedict（1972）的構擬。

³ 本文所引用的原始苗瑤語¹係根據王輔世、毛宗武（1995）的構擬。

⁴ 本文所引用的原始苗瑤語²係根據陳其光（2001）的構擬。

⁵ 王輔世、毛宗武（1995）根據苗瑤語方言不同的詞形，構擬了三個詞。

⁶ 問號表示該字不見於陳其光（2001）。

⁷ 兩個詞形，前者主要是根據苗語支語言的構擬，後者是根據瑤語支語言的構擬。前者為漢語借詞，參看下文 2.5.a 節的討論。

⁸ 「乳房」一詞不見於王輔世、毛宗武（1995）以及陳其光（2001），也不見於王輔世（1994）所構擬的原始苗語。此處所引用的是王輔世（1985）所記錄的三種苗語方言，依次為腊乙坪、大南山、養蒿方言。

⁹ 「下巴」一詞不見於王輔世、毛宗武（1995）。此處所引用的是王輔世（1994）所構擬的原始苗語。

¹⁰ Matisoff（2003:201）構擬為 *kləy，我根據我以前的修改提議（龔 2002:223-5），改寫作 *kliw。

¹¹ 王輔世（1986:15）認為此字是漢語「喝」的同源詞。

¹² 陳其光（2001:472-3）根據不同的苗瑤語方言構擬了兩個不同的詞形，而王輔世、毛宗武（1995:207, 434）則只構擬一個詞形。

- 「名」 *mjiŋ : *r-miŋ : *mpwtsæu : *mpe^去
 「日」 *njit : *niy : *ŋwɔ:i : *ŋei^平 太陽
 「雨」 *gwrjagx : *r-wa : *nməŋ 雨_一, *mbleəŋ 雨_二¹³ : *mluŋ^去
 「霧」 *mjugs : *(r)mu·k~*(r-)muw : *həu 霧_一, *mɒu¹⁴, 霧_二 : *hu^平
 「火」 *smədx : *məy : *dəu : *deu^上
 「一」 *.jit : *it : *ʔe : ʔi^平
 「二」 *njids : *g-nis : *ʔu : ʔwə^平
 「三」 *səm : *g-sum : *pwtsæu : *pe^平

這些詞彙在上古漢語與藏緬語之間有嚴整的對應關係（龔 2003）。然而在漢語與苗瑤語之間卻都沒有音義接近的字。

2.2 被認為是漢語與苗瑤語的同源詞則大多不屬於基本詞彙，而且都是容易迭借的詞彙。例如：

上古漢語：中古漢語：原始苗瑤語

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 「鑷」 | *grjam : ljäm : *ljim | (228/388) ¹⁵ |
| 「弩」 | *nagx : nuo : *ŋAk | (189/509) |
| 「鑿」 | *dzakw : dzâk : *dɔk | (134/627) |
| 「灶」 | *tsəgws : tsâu : *tsu | (141/618) |
| 「鬃」 | *tsuŋ : tsuŋ : *tsuŋ | (141/623) |
| 「凳」 | ? : təŋ : *taŋ | (166/481) |
| 「瓦」 | *ŋwrarx : ŋwa : *ŋwa | (308/529) |
| 「錢」 ¹⁶ | *dzjan : dzjăn : *dɔŋ | (133/402) |
| 「兩」 ¹⁷ | *rjanŋ : ljaŋ : *lwaəŋ | (227/544) |
| 「里」 ¹⁸ | *rjəg : lĩ : *le | (225/405) |

¹³ 兩個詞形，前者是根據苗語支語言的構擬，後者是根據瑤語支語言的構擬。分別以一、二表示。

¹⁴ 兩個詞形，前者是根據苗語支語言的構擬，後者是根據瑤語支語言的構擬。後者為漢語借詞，參看下文 5.b 節的討論。

¹⁵ 括號內指出該字在王輔世、毛宗武（1995）一書中出現的頁數，前面表示聲母，後面表示韻母。

¹⁶ 重量單位。

¹⁷ 重量單位。

¹⁸ 長度單位。

「升」 ¹⁹	*hljəŋ : sjaŋ : *sɛŋ	(235/436)
「價」	*krags : ka : *Nqa	(332/461)
「買」	*mrigx : maĩ : *ma:i	(75/463)
「賣」	*mrigs : maĩ : *ma:i	(76/463)
「蓑」	*sə : suâ : *θwji	(140/398)
「鉤」	*kug : kǎu : *NqAu	(169/497)
「箸」	*drjags : djwo : *dɤu	(213/663)
「瓜」	*kwrag : kwa : *qlva	(346/459)
「橋」	*gjagw : gjäu : *dʒəu	(269/555)
「騎」	*gjar : gje : *dʒei	(269/409)

值得注意的是：上面所引用的原始苗瑤語都是較接近漢語中古音，而不接近漢語上古音。有些如「橋」與「騎」等字甚至都已接近近代音了。

2.3 少數同時見於藏緬語與苗瑤語的相關詞彙（包括基本詞彙），也都是藏緬語接近上古漢語，而苗瑤語則接近中古漢語或僅是與漢語有一點類似而已，苗瑤語的這些語詞與漢語之間並無任何音韻對應規律。例如：

上古漢語：中古漢語：原始苗瑤語

「芋」	*gwrjags : ju : *vəu	(84/663)
「目」	*mjəkw : mjuk : *mwæi	(75/445)
「日」	*njit : ńjǰət : *ŋwo:i	(203/571)
「河」	*gal : ɣâ : *Gla:u	(343/467)
「角」	*kruk : kâk : *klo:ŋ	(310/604)
「新」	*sjin : sjěn : *tʃhæŋ	(231/452)
「霧」	*mjugs : mju : *mɔu	(77/556)
「抱」	*bəgwx : kâu : *bwɔu	(87/556)
「客」	*khrak : khək : *qhɑ ^c	(37/46) ²⁰
「量」	*grjaŋ : ljaŋ : *luəŋ	(225/645)

¹⁹ 容量單位。

²⁰ 「客」字不見於王輔世、毛宗武（1995），此處所引用的是王輔世（1994）的原始苗語。

「漆」 *tshjit : tshjět : tθhjet (137/428)

上面這些字，前六字應該是屬於偶然相似，後五字則是屬於借詞。

2.4 另一個值得注意的現象是：個別的苗語或瑤語²¹往往接近現代漢語詞形，而構擬的原始苗瑤語則反而與漢語相差頗遠，例如：

「馬」 上古漢語 *mragx > 中古漢語 ma
 苗語養蒿 ma⁴，苗語復員 ma^B
 原始苗瑤語 *mjnu:n，原始苗語²² *mnen^B
 比較：
 緬甸文 mrāṇ，藏文 rmaṇ

王輔世（1986:11）及陳其光（1990:32）都認為苗瑤語的「馬」與漢語同源，然而王輔世（1994）所構擬的原始苗語「馬」*mnen^B及王輔世、毛宗武（1995）所構擬的原始苗瑤語「馬」*mjnu:n 都與漢語上古音*mragx 相差太遠，難以認定其同源關係。陳其光（2001:636）所構擬的*mja[±]較接近漢語，但是他所構擬的原始苗瑤語有*mr-音，「馬」字卻不是*mra[±]，仍然不十分密合。另外，王輔世（1986:15）及陳其光（1990:39）也都認為苗瑤語的「黃」與漢語同源，

「黃」 上古漢語 *gwang > 中古漢語 ɣwāṇ
 苗語養蒿 faṇ²，苗語先進 tlaṇ²，瑤語東山 waṇ²
 原始苗瑤語 *GlwjAṇ，原始苗語 *Glweṇ^A

然而漢語上古音「黃」*gwang、中古音 ɣwāṇ 都不是複聲母，都不帶-l-音，與構擬的原始苗語*Glweṇ^A及原始苗瑤語*GlwjAṇ 都不合，Purnell（1970:234-5）把苗語與瑤語分開來，並為原始瑤語構擬*wyAṇ²，或許漢語「黃」字只借進瑤語而未借進苗語，其情形如同下面 2.5 節所要討論的例字。

其他還有下列的例子：

²¹ 以下所引用的個別的苗語、瑤語以及原始苗瑤語係根據王輔世、毛宗武（1995）。

²² 原始苗語的構擬係根據王輔世（1994）。

- 「秧」 上古漢語 *jan > 中古漢語 jan
苗語長峒 jan¹，瑤語江底 ja:ŋ¹，勉語樑子 jan¹
原始苗瑤語 *ʔwəə:ŋ，原始苗語 *ʔzon^A
- 「過」²³ 上古漢語 *kwars > 中古漢語 kuâ
苗語吉衛 kwa⁵，苗語復員 qwa^c
勉語東山 kwa⁵，勉語長坪 kwai⁵
原始苗瑤語 *qlvA:i，原始苗語 *qlwau^c

上面二字王輔世（1986:14, 15）及陳其光（1990:33, 253）都認為與漢語同源。但是通常的情形，兩種語言有同源關係的詞彙應該是越往古代回溯，彼此的詞形會越相近，而上面的情形卻與此相反。此二字可能都是漢語借詞，而原始苗語與原始苗瑤語的構擬或許並不正確。

還有如下面的情形，現代的苗語與構擬的原始苗語都與漢語接近，而構擬的原始苗瑤語則與漢語相差頗大：

- 「人」 上古漢語 *njin > 中古漢語 nǐjǎn
苗語先進 nen¹，苗語高坡 nɛn²
原始苗瑤語 *mwjnu:n，原始苗語 *næn^A
- 「娘」²⁴ 上古漢語 *nrjaŋ > 中古漢語 njaŋ
苗語養蒿 naŋ¹，苗語青岩 nɛŋ¹
原始苗瑤語 ʔna:m，原始苗語 *nɛŋ^A

上面二字的原始苗瑤語的構擬如果正確，則漢苗之間的類似純粹是起於偶然而已。如果此二字確是漢語借詞，則原始苗瑤語的構擬可能並不正確。

另一種例子是明顯可以看出其錯誤的情形：

- 「鳥」 上古漢語 *tiəgwɣ > 中古漢語 tieu
苗語養蒿 nə⁶，苗語石門 nau⁶¹
原始苗瑤語 *nmək，原始苗語 *nuŋ^c
- 「紙」 上古漢語 *tjigɣ > 中古漢語 tsǐjě

²³ 「過河」的「過」。

²⁴ 苗瑤語是「嫂嫂」的意思，陳其光（1990）認為漢語「娘」與苗語「嫂」同源。

瑤語江底 tsei³，瑤語羅香 tɕei³
 原始苗瑤語 *tʃei，原始苗語 *nteu^B

上面的例子中「鳥」字在中古漢語聲母是 t-音，現在北京話變成 n-音，是晚近時期避諱改音的結果，可見苗瑤語的「鳥」字與漢語完全無關。至於「紙」字，根據史書的記載造紙是東漢元興元年（公元 105）蔡倫所造，如果曾有過漢苗共同語的存在，那也是沒有文字的時代，那個時代應該是沒有紙的。「紙」只是借詞而已，苗、瑤且不同源，更不可能推到漢苗同源的時代。

「送」 上古漢語 *suŋ > 中古漢語 suŋ
 苗語復員 soŋ^c，苗語先進 saŋ⁵，瑤語羅香 θuŋ⁵
 原始苗瑤語 *θwɨpəŋ，原始苗語 *soŋ^c
 「銅」 上古漢語 *duŋ > 中古漢語 duŋ
 苗語吉衛 toŋ²，苗語先進 toŋ²，瑤語羅香 toŋ²
 原始苗瑤語 *dɛəŋ，原始苗語 *duŋ^A

上面兩個例子顯示，原始苗語接近漢語，而原始苗瑤語則離漢語稍遠。此二字在上古漢語屬於同部，元音相同。如果漢苗同源，則此二字在苗瑤語也應該有相同的元音才對。如果二字不是同源詞，而是借詞，也還是要有嚴整的音韻對應才合理。但構擬的原始苗語此二字元音卻不完全相同。它們可能是在不同的時代，或在同一個時代從不同的地區借進苗瑤語的。如果此二字確是借詞，則原始苗瑤語的構擬可能不正確。

2.5 還有一個不能忽視的問題是：王輔世、毛宗武（1995）所構擬的原始苗瑤語有些詞彙僅見於苗語，有些則僅見於瑤語（書中分別以一、二加以標示），與漢語音義相近的字往往只是兩者中的一個而已，例如：

a、苗語與漢語相似

「酒」一	*tɕəu	苗語（267/660）
「酒」二	*tiu	瑤語（164/386）
「園」一 菜園	*veŋ	苗語（83/424）
「園」二 菜園	*ɣun	瑤語（82/621）

「獬」豬 _一	*mpɒ	苗語 (69/550)
「獬」豬 _二	*dwjɒɛŋ	瑤語 (208/565)
「嘴」 _一	*ŋdʒu:i	苗語、瑤語 (247/634)
「嘴」 _二	*ŋtʃwɛt	瑤語 (250/526)
「聾」 _一	*lɒɛ:ŋ	苗語 (200/564)
「聾」 _二	*ntwjoɛŋ	瑤語 (209/607)
「脫」 _一 ²⁵ 逃脫	*Glwɔt	苗語 (347/583)
「脫」 _二 逃脫	*ntut	瑤語 (181/625)
「抱」 _一	*bwɒu	苗語 (87/556)
「抱」 _二	*lɛ:p	瑤語 (198/507)
「妾」 ²⁶ 姑娘、女兒 _一	*mphtshe:p	苗語 (110/427)
姑娘、女兒 _二	*ʃak	瑤語 (248/527)
「鬼」 _一 ²⁷	*qleŋ	苗語 (351/423)
「鬼」 _二	*m̥wje:n	瑤語 (106/418)
「瘡」 _一	*tshɛ:ŋ	苗語 (143/499)
「瘡」 _二	*dzwei	瑤語 (154/408)
「量」 _一 量米	*luɛŋ	苗語 (225/645)
「量」 _二 量米	*ŋkhlɒ:u	瑤語 (316/553)

²⁵ 王輔世 (1986:15) 認為苗瑤語「脫」與漢語「滑」同源。但此字似乎與漢語「脫」字較接近。「脫」字漢語上古音 (OC) *h-luat。比較：PTB (原始藏緬語) *g-lwat 'free, release' (STC #209)。

²⁶ 苗瑤語是「姑娘、女兒」的意思，陳其光 (1990:31) 認為漢語「妾」與苗語「姑娘、女兒」同源。

²⁷ 王輔世 (1986:14) 及陳其光 (1990:31) 都認為苗瑤語「鬼」與漢語同源。

b、瑤語與漢語相似

「紙」一	*ntəu	苗語 (178/660)
「紙」二	*tʃei	瑤語 (241/409)
「茶」一	*jœn	苗語 (287/151)
「茶」二	*ɬa	瑤語 (255/529)
「碗」一	*dæ	苗語 (172/442)
「碗」二	*ʔvan	瑤語 (81/539)
「針」一	*cəəŋ	苗語 (285/523)
「針」二	*sim	瑤語 (150/388)
「斧」斧頭一	*teu	苗語 (165/414)
「斧」斧頭二	*pəu	瑤語 (62/658)
「白」一	*qləu	苗語 (69/657)
「白」二	*bek	瑤語 (69/3)
「厚」一	*tɔ	苗語 (163/549)
「厚」二	*ɦɬau	瑤語 (359/496)
「熟」一 熟肉	*sin	苗語 (237/402)
「熟」二 熟肉	*dʒwuk	瑤語 (249/650)
「霧」一	*həu	苗語 (357/575)
「霧」二	*mɔu	瑤語 (77/556)
「心」一	*p əu	苗語 (130/658)
「心」二	*sim	瑤語 (150/387)
「腸」一	*ŋəu	苗瑤 (261/537)

「腸」二	*GljA:ŋ	瑤語 (349/500)
「蹄」一	*tɕoi	苗語 (210/595)
「蹄」二	*dei	瑤語 (170/409)
「筋」一	*sɔi	苗語 (236/595)
「筋」二	*cwa:n	瑤語 (291/481)
「膿」一	*beu	苗語 (68/415)
「膿」二	*nɐəŋ	瑤語 (192/524)
「米」一	*tshuəŋ	苗語 (143/645)
「米」二	*ntsə:i	少數苗語 (146/655)
「米」三	*m̥ɒi	瑤語 (74/552)
「拍」一 拍手	*mbɒ	苗語 (72/549)
「拍」二 拍手	*mpjek	瑤語 (97/441)
「炒」一 炒菜	*ke	苗語 (298/405)
「炒」二 炒菜	*tʃhɒ:u	瑤語 (243/554)
「挾」一 挾菜	*tæp	苗語 (168/455)
「挾」二 挾菜	*ntɕap	瑤語 (273/485)
「挖」一	*ntɕət	苗語 (273/670)
「挖」二	*ʔve:t	瑤語 (81/428)
「開」一 開門	*put	苗語 (641/648)
「開」二 開門	*khwo:i	瑤語 (307/571)
「含」一	*mpɒ	苗語 (69/549)
「含」二	*ŋkjɔ:m	瑤語 (309/577)

「笠」一	*kok	苗語 (299/614)
「笠」二	*ŋgljap	瑤語 (324/486)
「包」一 包(糖)	*qhu	苗語 (329/631)
「包」二 包(糖)	*pjɪ:u	瑤語 (95/399)
「繩」繩子一	*la	苗語 (197/530)
「繩」繩子二	*la:ŋ	瑤語 (196/478)
「年」一	*ɕaŋ	苗語 (278/482)
「年」二	*ŋaŋ	瑤語 (261/482)

這個現象凸顯出，苗語或瑤語與漢語音義相近的字，並不能回溯到原始苗瑤語，它們僅是在原始苗語或原始瑤語的階段從漢語借進去的。如果在原始苗瑤語的階段，苗瑤語曾有過共同的詞彙，則應該是與漢語不同的那一邊保存了原來的詞彙（存古 retention），而與漢語相似的那一邊是代表後來的更新（innovation），因為苗瑤語的趨勢是受漢語影響，不斷吸收漢語的詞彙。如果與漢語相似的詞彙反而代表原來的漢苗共同語時代的詞彙，則無法解釋更新的詞彙究竟是受哪一個語言的影響，吸收了哪一個語言的詞彙所產生的。

2.6 最能顯示漢語與苗語或漢語與瑤語之間，詞形相似的詞彙屬於借詞的，是以下的例子。下面的例子顯示，苗語與瑤語分別借自不同的漢語詞彙，或借同一個詞彙，但借自不同的漢語方言。例如：

（孔）洞眼一	*qhoəŋ	苗語 (329/614)
（窟）洞眼二	*khwut	瑤語 (307/649)
（臼）碓一	*dzɯ	苗語 (270/617)
（碓）碓二	*twɔ:i	瑤語 (201/572)
（鳩） ²⁸ 鴿子一	*Nqɔu	苗語 (331/575)

²⁸ 陳其光（1990:33）認為此字是漢語「鴿」的借詞，王輔世（1986:14）則認為此字與下一字都是

「鵠」鵠子= *ko:p 瑤語 (299/610)

(龍) 龍= *ŋglon 苗語 (319/605)

(龍) 龍= *klju:ŋ 瑤語 (320/641)

2.7 另外還有不少曾被指為漢苗同源詞的字，只不過是漢語與苗瑤語之間聲母或韻母偶然有點類似而已，有些甚至完全看不出漢苗語詞之間有任何相似的地方。以下是陳其光（1990）及王輔世（1986）文中所提到的同源詞，其中原始苗瑤語是本文根據王輔世、毛宗武（1995）的構擬取代原先的寫法的。

上古漢語：原始苗瑤語			
船=	*dʒuan	:	*ɲon ²⁹
豆子	*dugs	:	*dəp
索（繩）	*sak	:	*la ³⁰
鼓	*kagx	:	*ŋdʌ
鹵（鹽）	*ragx	:	*ŋtʂau
辣	*rat	:	*mbdʒa:t
爛 瓜爛	*rans	:	*lu
綠	*rjuk	:	*mptʂɛ:u
沸	*pjəts	:	*mpweu
老	*rəgw*	:	*qʌu

上面這些字本文認為都是漢語與苗瑤語全然不相干的字。

3. 漢語與苗瑤語關係詞的對應關係

漢語與苗瑤語的比較研究，由於王輔世（1994）原始苗語的構擬以及王輔世、毛宗武（1995）、陳其光（2001）原始苗瑤語的構擬而創造了可以更進一步做深入研究的良好條件。陳其光（2001）在其著作中，所提出的漢語與苗瑤語的

「鵠」的借詞。王輔世、毛宗武（1995）始將二字加以分開。本文認為上字是「鳩」的借詞，而下一字則是「鵠」的借詞。

²⁹ 只見於苗語。

³⁰ 只見於苗語。

關係詞，呈現如下的對應關係：

上古魚部 -ag	-u, -o, -eu, -əu, -ou, -a, -ɑ, -au, -au, -ε, -æi, -ai
上古鐸部 -ak	-ek, -iu, -ɔ, -au, -au
上古陽部 -aŋ	-uŋ, -oŋ, -ɔŋ, -εŋ, -aŋ, -əŋ
上古歌部 -ar	-ɑ, -a, -ε, -e, -o, -u, -ai, -ɔi, -oi
上古月部 -at	-ut, -et, -εt, -ɔt, -ai, -au
上古元部 -an	-in, -en, -ən, -an, -an, -un, -on, -ɔn, -εŋ, -aŋ, -ɔŋ
上古葉部 -ap	-ep, -ep, -ap, -op, -ak, -ek
上古談部 -am	-am, -am, -em, -um, -aŋ

從上面的對應表來看，漢語一個 -a 元音幾乎可以對應所有的苗瑤語元音，而毫無規律可言。顯示這些字不可能是同源詞。陳其光自己也不認為，他在書上漢語與苗瑤語「關係字對應」(pp. 582-616)所列的字都是同源詞，所以他在該書中另外提出了他所認定的「漢苗瑤同源字」(pp. 635-642)。以下便根據這些「同源字」，把上古漢語「耕部」與「蒸部」的字抽出來，看看作者認為是真正同源的字，在漢語與苗瑤語之間，呈現什麼樣的對應關係。

上古漢語耕部與蒸部的「漢苗瑤同源字」有下列幾個字（這裡所引用的漢語上古音的構擬係照錄該書）：

	漢語	苗瑤語
耕部	聲 *skjɛŋ ^平	*ɾiŋ ^平 聲音
	生 *sɾɛŋ ^平	*tshɾɛŋ ^平 新
	清 *tshjɛŋ ^平	*ntshɾɛŋ ^平 清
	星 *sɛŋ ^平	*qɛŋ ^平 星星
	靈 *liɛŋ ^平	*qljaŋ ^平 鬼
蒸部	嶺 *ljɛŋ ^上	*rɔŋ ^上 村寨
	升 *skjəŋ ^平	*ɾɛŋ ^平 高
	秤 *thjəŋ ^去	*ntshjɛŋ ^去 秤
	鷹 *ʔjəŋ ^平	*qlaŋ ^上 老鷹
	崩 *pəŋ ^平	*mpɔŋ ^平 崩
	冰 *pjəŋ ^平	*mpɛn ^去 雪、冰

從上面的字表，我們看到漢語的*-eŋ，對應苗瑤語的*-iŋ, -eŋ, -eŋ, -jaŋ, -ɔŋ，漢語的*-əŋ，對應苗瑤語的*-eŋ, -jeŋ, -aŋ, -ɔŋ, -eŋ，毫無規律可言。根據這樣的對應關係，實不可能構擬漢語與苗瑤語共同的來源，要將漢語與苗瑤語視為同語系的語言，從這些關係詞上無法得到支持。

4. 結語

綜合以上的討論，本文認為漢語與苗瑤語並不是同源的語言，它們之間音義相近的詞彙，一部分是屬於借詞，一部分則是屬於偶然的類似。漢語與苗瑤語的比較研究，雖然經過許多學者的努力，仍然不能找到語言之間嚴整的對應關係，這是因為漢語與苗瑤語之間的關係詞，只是在不同的時代，從不同的漢語方言借進去的語詞，而這也是這些關係詞為什麼很少有基本辭彙的原因。

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The Sino-Miao-Yao Relationship Revisited

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Between Chinese and Miao-Yao there exist a number of words which are similar in form and meaning. Whether Chinese is genetically related to Miao-Yao depends largely upon whether these words are cognates or loan words. This paper reviews the words which have been proposed as cognates, and compares them with cognates between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman. It is argued that some of these words are borrowed, whereas others are chance resemblances. Despite efforts made by many scholars, systematic correspondences between Chinese and Miao-Yao have not been established. The reason is that these words were borrowed from Chinese into Miao-Yao at different times and in different locations. This also explains why few of these words may be considered basic vocabulary.

Key words: Genetic relationship, Old Chinese, Proto-Miao-Yao, Proto-Tibeto-Burman

在一個涼爽的地方…
先父 李方桂先生（1902-1987）百歲冥誕
憶往事數則*

李林德（Lindy Li Mark）

加州州立大學東灣校區（California State University at East Bay）

去叫爸爸

「吃飯啦，去叫爸爸。」

「領弟，上山叫 Daddy 吃晚飯！」媽媽嗓音帶火，連連催著我。

雖然有女傭打下手，媽媽總是親自掌勺，從買、摘、洗、切、調料，最後下鍋，忙了一下午。飯都上桌了還不見人影，難怪她冒火。

「噯…… 就去。」六歲的我，一蹦一跳的朝著艷紅的落日往院子外頭跑。

那個時代農村沒有路燈，可是雲南鄉下農民有個習俗，傍晚在田坎交界的地方點三支香，一方面敬鬼神，一方面給人指路。於是我順著若隱若現的紅香頭向龍頭村外對面的小山上走去。

到了辦公室，看見父親叨著香煙，坐在書桌前面的一把一動就吱吱響的藤椅上，眼鏡推到額頭上面，就著黃昏最後的一線光還在看書。

「Daddy，吃飯啦。不回去媽要生氣了。」

「哦……」，繼續看書。我說了兩三次，他「哦」了兩三次，繼續看書。

我從他腋下鑽到他膝蓋上坐好。拿起一支鉛筆——抗戰時期鉛筆算貴重的用具——趴在書桌上胡亂在一張紙上畫畫兒。父親往後仰一仰，把看的紙張挪到我背後繼續看。父女倆直到天完全黑了才手拉手，父親的長腿邁一步我的短腿奔兩步的趁著月光下山。

到家當然兩人一起挨罵。媽媽一邊埋怨，一邊把燈草捻子撥亮一點，一邊張羅熱飯熱菜。看到父女二人把親手作的菜餚都吃了個乾淨，臉上才帶著得意的神情叫人收拾盤碗。

* 此文曾由李光謨、林文月、馬逢華、徐燕生諸位過目，多有建議增減刪改。特此鳴謝。

那是 1939 年，我們一家從美國回到戰亂的祖國，到了昆明城外的一個地圖上找不出來的小村——龍頭村（現稱龍泉鎮）——，住了下來。父親早在 1929 年就是中央研究院歷史語言研究所語言學組的研究員。史語所從南京遷移到這個偏僻的地區來，是爲了躲避日本飛機轟炸，保護考古發掘出來的文物和田野調查得來的語言資料。那時候龍頭村是個很閉塞的農村，和現在已經規劃到昆明市的郊區的龍泉街（雲南話「街」讀「該」）大不一樣。這個小村坐落在稻田和起伏的山巒之間。我們住的是夯土牆的茅屋，下雨時上漏下淹。燒的是柴禾，乾樹枝；泛潮濕時煙噲得鼻眼淚流。沒有報紙；要知道國家大事，世界大局，聽聽天上有沒有飛機，看看是中國的，還是美國的，還是敵人的。沒有商店；買吃的就得每四五天趕集，或者自己種，自己養。我們的房子前面就是一片菜園子。菜園子旁邊還有個小屋養著雞、鵝，和一支修短了翅羽的野雉雞。

這個小村雖然簡陋、落後，可是戰爭卻給它帶來了意外的文明。今年夏天（07/29/2002）我到龍頭村尋訪舊居，已拆的無蹤無影¹，卻在村委辦公室找到以下一段錄自馮友蘭〈三松堂自序〉裡面的記載：

「……有些人（指史語所研究人員）就在老鄉們屋前屋後空地上蓋了簡易的房子，同老鄉訂下合同，將來走的時候，所蓋的房子就無償歸此地主所有。這樣龍泉鎮就成了當時的一個文化中心了。」（轉載《昆明歷史村鎮系列叢書》）

對我們孩子來說龍頭村可是個不錯的地方。這兒沒有學校，當然就不用上學！每天在媽媽監督之下背完幾首唐詩，寫兩篇大字，就下課了。

小的時候只聽說父親是個語言學家，並不知道什麼是語言學……大概和文字有關係吧。父親的臉、鼻子，總是埋在書堆、紙張裡。眼鏡經常是推到額頭上，像第二雙眼睛。嘴裡叼著煙捲兒或煙斗兒，不怎麼說話。在我的記憶裡，那時的父親是個中等身材的人，不胖也不瘦。其實他一生沒有太瘦過，也沒有發胖過。年老發現心肌梗塞後醫生叫他戒煙，但從來沒有叫他減過肥。他天生長方臉，鼓臉堂，高額頭，挺鼻梁。從來沒有聽人家稱他是美男子。但我總覺得他的男子少壯派頭，粗線條裡露出富有靈性的書卷氣，比別人的白面書生的爸爸瀟灑。雖有點書呆子氣，可是也打得一手好乒乓球，踢得好毬子，還可以左右兩腳踢，踢得

¹ 2002 年 7 月 29 日到昆明時，我根本不知道龍頭村往哪個方向去找。感謝雲南師範大學文學院陳慧老師，她很熱心的打聽清楚方向帶我前去。

高高的再跳起來從腿下面踢過來。他的辦公室在一片稻田對面的半山坡，經常忘記該回家吃晚飯的時間。那時我弟弟才四歲，上山叫父親吃飯就是我的任務。去找他時，不是在看書就是在寫字。但是他那時從來沒有過問我和弟弟的功課。

家禽野獸

現在不大能想象沒有電冰箱怎麼過日子。可是六十多年前，中國根本沒有這東西。沒有冰箱的好處就是吃的東西絕對新鮮。鄉下地方糧食蔬菜不成問題，魚肉就只有趕集的日子才有的賣。平常如要吃點肉類就必須八里九里的跑到城市裡去買，或宰殺自己飼養的。注重營養的人家，尤其是注意兒童營養的人家就認為蛋白質食品是天天要給孩子們吃的。當然豆腐也屬於高蛋白質的食品，但是豆腐也和肉一樣容易腐爛，所以連豆腐都是集日才有的吃。可是趕集也得學會竅門兒。母親和所裡的主婦們發現狡猾的販子，會在抵達市集以前坐在路邊，往雞鴨的砂囊裡塞喂細砂石，以賣時增加重量。如果買了活的雞鴨回來預備過一天再宰，那雞鴨不到夜晚就奄奄一息了。因此要買到能活的還必須提早跑到較遠的路上，截買。

我們家當然是注意營養的，所以前院子裡種了隨時採摘的蔬菜。還買了小雞小鵝預備養大了下蛋吃，或宰了吃。第一批小雞連聲音都沒吭出來就全被黃鼠狼吃掉了。第二批就天天晚上轟到屋裡扣在筐子底下。等他們大了一點才關到院子裡的雞房裡。可是還是有黃鼠狼來襲擊。夜裡一聽見雞房裡有聲響，父親就起床拿著竹杆子去打黃鼠狼。打是沒有見他打著過，把它們轟走罷了。久而久之父親對這群雞鵝有了感情。早上第一件事就是把雞和鵝放出來，數數看少了沒有，然後喂飼完了才上班去。下班回家時又去喂它們，所以他每天回家第一批歡迎他的隊伍就是雞和鵝。後來有一隻雛鵝長大了，雪白的羽毛，高高的紅冠子，變成一隻凶悍無比的雄鵝。我們小孩、客人、送菜的老劉，都被它那有鋸齒，鐵鉗一般的扁嘴咬住不放，還把頭轉過來擰著。它可不但不啄父親，還接過保護家禽的任務。自此父親不用夜裡起來打黃鼠狼了。

有一次父親作田野考查回家，帶了一隻野雉雞，說是一個苗語報導人捉到送給他的。野雞的羽毛黑光閃綠，頭上有冠，後面有二尺多長的劍尾。揚著頭，邁著官步，非常美麗、神氣。可是跟家禽放在一起總是寡不敵眾，老是受欺負。尤其一隻大公雞把野雞背上啄禿了一片。有一早我還沒有起床就聽見院子裡聲音大亂。爬起來出門一看，父親笑嘻嘻的跳著一隻光腳倚著籬笆。大公雞頭上套著父親的一隻布鞋，滿院子飛奔著橫沖直闖，所有的家禽啼叫著四面飛逃。此番教

訓以後大公雞的行爲就比較檢點，父親在院子裡的時候它總是一溜煙躲開。

父親常常出去做調查語言的田野工作，一去就是個把月。每次回來總帶一些有趣兒的東西給我和弟弟。有一次帶回來的是黑色石刻的小蛤蟆，打磨的光滑發亮，他告訴我們是活的蛤蟆變的！又有一次我們住在成都的時候，他帶回來一隻小狗熊，鄰居小孩都圍著看熱鬧。這隻狗熊拴在院子裡大樹下，三四個月就長的很大了。終於有一天獸性發了。我早上上學以前總是去看看它，這一天走近時被他一爪子把書包抓了個稀爛。可是父親在的時候它從來不敢發野。不知道和父親屬虎有沒有關係。這以後父親就牽著它送到少城公園動物園去了。

熬番茄醬

1940 年，日本佔領了緬甸，通昆明的公路吃緊，跟著轟炸昆明。中央研究院歷史語言研究所又一度遷移，到了四川，宜賓下游的李莊。這又是個地圖上找不到的小山村兒。考古組在山下的鎮裡，語言組在山上板栗坳。不記得有什麼板栗，卻有非常好吃的龍眼。從鎮裡到山上是曲折的羊腸小道，一個多鐘頭的山路。運輸與交通完全靠腳力，挑擔子、抬轎子、推雞公車等等。買菜就更不方便了。鄉下地方雖有其樂趣，但是長期住著生活就有點單調，尤其是吃的方面。蔬菜水果都有一定的季節，但是種類不多。是某種菜果上市的季節，就每天都是一樣的菜餚。

李莊有四大賢，都是曾經留學到歐美的：傅斯年（歷史）、李濟之（考古）、梁思成（建築），和我父親李方桂（語言）。其實還有一位大賢是甲骨文研究之鼻祖董作賓先生。但可能他沒有留學海外，沒有列入這一班。這四家有點「洋派兒」的主婦們就想要在飲食方面出點兒新花樣。她們合起來向農民租了一小塊地，種了一片西紅柿。種籽的來歷我原本不知道。可是無巧不成書：今年在北京，李光謨先生（濟之先生之長公子）見到此文，給我提供了以下的第一把手資料。

原來 1943 年初，李濟之到成都出差時，收到梁思成一封信。信中除了提到考古與建築的學術問題之外，還有這一段：

「……成都金陵大學農場各種種籽甚佳，弟擬懇帶西紅柿種籽一包，歸來行筐中似尚可容下耶？勞駕勞駕……。」（載於〈李濟與友人通信選輯〉）²

² 原信見李光謨所輯「李濟與友人通信選輯」，《中國文化》15-16 期，1997。

這可以算中國食植物傳播史中一個小腳註吧。那時當地的農民還沒見過這種像果子的蔬菜，看起來紅紅的，可是吃起來酸酸的，都不喜歡。雖然小小的一片，可是到了成熟季節，一串串紅紅、黃黃，吃也吃不完。送朋友嘛也送不完，因此吃不完的都得扔掉。

這一年夏天，媽媽帶著弟弟培德去重慶探望外祖母。我和父親留在李莊伺候祖母。七八月間正是板栗坳最悶熱的季節。紅嘟嘟亮烘烘的西紅柿一串一串的墜下來。父親著我去摘了好幾大籃，吃也吃不完，甩掉又可惜。父親靈機一動說他教我作番茄醬。於是我坐在灶頭司火，爸爸穿著汗衫煮西紅柿，一邊撈籽兒，一邊挑皮兒。兩人搞的滿頭大汗。現在不記得弄了多少罐，好吃不好吃。只記得給我們燒飯的劉嫂心疼柴禾。

除了熬番茄醬，那年夏天是我第一次，也是最後一次看見父親和祖母一起作畫。祖母何兆英（號 靈石女史，1867-1948）婚前曾是清宮中慈禧太后的代筆之一，專功花卉。³ 這一個炎熱的夏日，母子興致忽然到來，爸爸就研墨調色，兩人畫起勾骨菊花來。

我的祖母是個非常小巧的老太太。我印象最深的是她乳白細潤的皮膚（可惜沒有遺傳給我）。雖然臉上已有皺紋，臉皮倒象一圈圈凝固了的奶油。灰白的短髮剪到齊耳根，總是紋絲不亂的梳在耳後。這種髮型在那一輩的女子中算是很摩登的。可是一雙粽子形的小腳（幸虧沒有加刑到我），走路時身子稍向前傾，兩臂搖擺，又是很老派的。這當然不是她自己選擇的。祖母雖然是在傳統教條下成長，但是思想很先進，強調新式教育。她把三個孩子們都栽培到大學畢業，連二姑李漪（父親的姐姐）都是醫學院生理學畢業的。顯然三個兒女中父親是她最寵愛的一個。

父親沒有正式學過畫，但是可能年幼時偶而看過祖母畫，加上天賦吧，雖然沒有見他練畫，可是一筆下來總是淡雅清新。西式水彩畫也是不學自通。1938年，父親在康州新港耶魯大學（Yale）任教時，母親選了一門美術課消遣，課題是水彩畫。老師週末帶著學生到郊外寫生，父親若沒有課也跟著去畫。因為找不

³ 關於我的祖母，今年（2002 年）4 月 11 日，我在新港充和家抄錄爸爸給她的一封信：「充和：我母親是屬兔兒的，大約是 1867-8 年（正月），你可算一算，查一查。她是 1948 年去世的。她是給西太后代畫筆。她說起一位女士繆素雲女士（云南人？）也是時常代筆的。她姓何是山西靈石人。名字是兆英，所以又號靈石女史。又號小藤花館主人。我只有她一幅中堂現在北平。還是 1933 年從琉璃廠買回來的。家藏的都不見了。山西昔陽縣志（我們的老家）似乎有她的傳。何姓是靈石大家。蘇州的何澄（八爺）是她的本家叔叔。也是個小收藏家與王季千有親。勿此並問閭第均好。方桂 寄」（未署日月，信封郵戳是四月 11 日，1975 年，台北南港，中央研究院）。

到保姆就把五歲的我和三歲的弟弟都一起帶去。我記得那位美術老師經常把沒有註冊而來蹭課的爸爸的畫，拿來當著全班學員大大的稱讚。

那一年冬天，不知為什麼父母心血來潮想畫冬景，於是駕車到一座小橋旁停下，畫那冰湖和枯樹的倒影。我和弟弟站在橋上喝西北風凍了個把小時，鼻青臉紅。翌年我們一家就回到了戰亂的祖國。這張水彩冬景隨我們逃難奔波了五十多年，現在還掛在我書房壁上。照像簿裡還有一張兩個小孩面對面，在橋上低語的小照。今年（2002）我到新港探望朋友，驅車經過那座小橋。早春四月，天氣微寒，湖對面正待抽芽的樹枝還枯著，水面倒影，儼如當年。

雷雨之歌

1944 年，我們離開李莊，搬到成都。戰時燕京大學從北平遷移到成都。父親被燕大借聘教英文和語言學。成都是內地的大城市。我們小孩子在鄉下住了五六年，早已忘記城市是什麼樣子了。到了成都被它的繁華搞的眼花繚亂。滿街汽車，黃包車，滑杆兒，腳踏車，對我來說都很新奇。因為在李莊的山區住了兩年，把這些有軋軋的交通工具給忘記了。

我們在成都的第一個住所是在城裡的陝西街。燕京大學租了當地大戶人家的大花園，分成小單元，供教職員住宿。我們住的院子就在一家餐館隔壁。這家餐館名字非常風雅，叫「不醉無歸小酒家」。每天傍晚我們看著男男女女的客人說笑著進去，大醉酩酊的出來；卻從來不知餐館道裡面是什麼樣子，什麼叫宴席。

在成都我和弟弟都插班進了正式的學校。不但入學，還入了相當有水平的華西壩小學。從陝西街走到城外，穿過華西壩到學校需要步行 40 多分鐘。如果在路上遇見同學說說笑笑，停下來玩，買零嘴吃，往往就會遲到。遲到麼就會挨罰。放學後得打掃課堂，擦完黑板，才許回家。我常常挨罰。因為在龍頭村和李莊的幾年沒有正式的學校，某些功課，如數學、自然、地理什麼的，就趕不上了。因此下課以後就得留校接受補習。對我來說這不等於挨罰麼？所以也就不管遲到不遲到了，樂得在路上玩。

有一次補習時間特別長。下了課天已半黑，濃雲密佈，眼看要下雨。忽然一個霹靂，雷聲大作，電閃得天空裂開一般。嚇得我抱頭躲在學校的茅檐下，想趕快回家，但又不敢開步走。正在猶豫，看見父親氣喘喘的趕來接我了。我們剛走到路上雷雨霹靂而至。父親拉著我跳上一輛黃包車。因為抗戰時期一般公教人員的收入都比較緊，我們很少花錢坐車，所以這一次坐車給我留下的印象特別深刻。

車伕放下前面的油布車蓬，直奔城裡。我記得豪雨擂鼓似的落在車蓬上。一下打雷，一下閃電，只看見車伕兩隻穿著草鞋的腳，在車蓬底下比呀咕、比呀咕的濺著泥水一起一落。閃電一從車蓬透進來，我就嚇得把耳朵蒙起來往父親懷裡鑽。他一邊摟著我一邊叫我不怕。一向倔強的我害怕得哭了。父親叫我別哭，哄著我，教我唱歌。我摀著耳朵抗議不要學唱歌。也不知爲了什麼父親別出心材唱起德文的藝術歌曲來。我越哭，他越唱的響。不知不覺的我也跟著唱起來，也忘記怕了。待車拉到陝西街，雷聲、雨聲、歌聲交加。父女兩個在車裡高聲唱著德國詩人亨立士·海涅（Heinrich Heine）的詩歌，題爲〈在一個涼爽的地方〉「In einem kühlen Grunde」：

在一個涼爽的地方，	In einem kühlen Grunde，
水車在那兒慢慢的轉。	Da geht ein Mühlen Rad。
我心愛的人兒，	Mein Liebe ist
已經不見了。	verschwunden
他曾經住在那裡……	Die dort gewohnen hat ...

一陣雷雨過了，天也晴了，到家了。父女的歌聲卻沒有停。

N 的事件

「剪不斷，理還亂，悶無端……」⁴

近日接到某君的電郵訂購《中國演唱文藝年刊》。信後附 N 今春已去世的消息。我和 N 有半個世紀沒有通消息，他享年該是八十二、三歲吧。他走時頭髮是花白的呢，還是禿光了的呢？他晚年是個胖子，還是個瘦老頭兒呢？腦海裡湧浮出來的形像卻是個細高個兒，寬腦門子，談笑風生，浪漫倜儻的青年。

我和父親之間如果算有什麼矛盾、怨緣，也就是數 N 的事件吧。

中日抗戰以後，1947 年，我們全家從成都再次漂洋過海來到異鄉。未滿十五歲的我，已遍跡四川云南，橫渡太平洋來回兩次。老實話講，我並不樂意這第二次的越洋遠行，雖然很多同學們都很羨慕我們去美國。因爲好不容易在成都惡性補習把功課趕上了，現在又要接受另一個生疏的語言的補習。這次肯定要留級了，多丟人。再者，自從中日抗戰時代逃難開始，我們家從來沒有在任何一個地

⁴ 湯顯祖引李後主詞〈相見歡〉二句；後爲湯句，見《牡丹亭·驚夢》。

方住過兩年以上。從云南、四川、美國東岸，到西岸，在當地又搬家數次。我和弟弟差不多每一年都換一個陌生的學校，陌生的老師，陌生的同學，沒有一個穩定的成長環境。

我們一家總是隨著父親的事業奔走。他的全副精神則是投入學術研究。而且他好像從來沒有為妻子帶著小孩奔波的艱辛著想，或為我和弟弟學業的耽擱有所考慮。但是母親從來不願意和父親分離，沒有怨言。只記得一次母親發脾氣了。那是剛搬到李莊的第一個炎熱的夏天，一時還找不到幫工。母親把一家大小的晚飯打發完了，又熱又累，坐下用圍裙擦臉上的汗。父親卻叼著煙捲兒若無其事的問：「茶呢？」

母親忍不住吵起來，說他「從來不為家事抬一個手指頭。只會飯來張口，茶來伸手，連一個雞蛋也不會煮，一壺開水都不會燒！」父親不甘示弱，嚷說才怪，他根本會燒水。母親把水壺往他面前一擲，他提起水壺氣沖沖地往外走。剛出廚房門口就溜回來偷偷問我和弟弟：「水在哪兒？」被母親聽見了破涕為笑。

來到美國的第一年，父親在麻省劍橋哈佛大學從事研究。第二年，1948，父親第二次接受耶魯大學之聘。對於一個年輕的學者，這何嘗不是個很大的榮譽。於是我們又得搬家，我和弟弟又得換一個學校。對於我和弟弟的學業，則不知父親是根本不關心，還是很有信心。須要學英文就學吧。他認為在這種情況之下留級一兩年也不是什麼奇恥大辱。來到美國的第一年我們就在英語補習班裡混了一學年。翌年我插入正式初中三年級……等於留級一年。英文不論是說、聽、寫，都還是相當吃力。中國的高初中學課程都是必修課，沒有選擇。而美國的高初中有一半以上的課是自由選擇的。但是所有的學員都必選修一門外國語，英文能力有限的移民學員也不例外。那時我的英文課總是將將通過，不是 C 就是 C-……倒還沒有不及格。我覺得不能再擔負一門陌生的語文了。父親不但不去學校替我說情，居然還建議我選讀拉丁文，說對學習語言有幫助！意想不到，我在拉丁文班裡倒和美國學生是同等學力，因此分數反而比一般美國同學的高，總是 B+ 或 A！父親沒有錯，學了拉丁文對我以後學德文、法文，甚至生物，都很有幫助。

耶魯大學那時有一批中國留學生，他們一到週末就擁到我們家來吃喝玩樂。N 是其中的一個。父親除了教書，做研究，也愛打橋牌，下圍棋，打乒乓，「擺龍門陣」，也很歡迎他們來玩。每逢節日我們家總是很熱鬧。母親好客，燒得一手好家鄉菜，平易近人，異國相逢，對待這些青年人特別情親。我們家當然就成了他們異國之家，把我和弟弟當作他們的弟弟妹妹，帶著一起玩。

由於經常搬家，換學校，我沒有什麼常相好的同年朋友。和一些美國同學又有文化和思想上的隔閡。比如說，到了週末，美國同學們都出去玩，約會；而我得在家花加倍的時間讀英文課本。美國十五六歲的男女孩子都開始交異性的朋友；而我沒有。因此性格變得有點孤寡，不大說話，悶頭看書，彈鋼琴。只有週末有另一個年齡差不多的女孩到我家來等侯家教鋼琴老師來一起上課。我們倆彈一陣，聊一陣。有一次 N 跑進來說我們像兩隻小鳥一高一低的唱合。後來我們彈的比較進步了，幾位大哥們就會靜坐在客廳裡或涼臺上聽我們練琴。那時中國女留學生很少，所以我們兩個十五六歲的姑娘，對這些候選博士的光棍兒們大概挺有吸引力。但是畢竟年紀差距比較大，又是兩個教授的千金，沒有人敢公然追求。除了 N。

這幾位大我十幾歲的大哥們裡頭，我和 N 算最有話講。他有很多中文文藝書籍常常借給我看，小說、散文、思想論文，等等。現代文學家如茅盾、魯迅、老舍、冰心、曹禺，都是那時看的。還有古典小說、武俠小說。看不懂時，或有所心得時就和他討論，聊天兒。但我從來沒有單獨和他出游過。不久父親接受華盛頓大學的聘請，我們一家就從東海岸搬到西海岸的西雅圖。

我讀高三那年春天，N 忽然來到西雅圖。叫名兒是來看「你們」的。起初，大概除了我，誰都明白他是來看誰的。每天下了課我抱著書往家走，就遠遠看見 N 瘦長的身個兒倚在路橋的石欄上等待。

橋下是一個曲折的城市綠化谷。谷底有溪流一彎，兩邊草坪，茂林花木。多雨的西雅圖的春天特別美麗，碧綠的長青樹林襯托著「姹紫妍紅」的杜鵑花。在這裡我嘗到了「十七歲的初戀」的甜與酸。一個星期以後 N 就走了。後來收到他兩封情書，就再也沒有消息了。雖然有一陣傷情，但我上了大學以後並不缺乏男伴兒。這番感情上的挫折也就漸漸平緩下去了。

上大學以後，不是我去叫爸爸回家吃飯了，而是他在辦公室等我下課一起駕車回家。有一天他有會議，我在辦公室寫作業等他回來。鉛筆斷了就打開抽屜找筆。在抽屜後角發現一束信，筆跡很熟。再一看是幾封 N 給我的信，每一封都打開過！看了這些信我心裡一陣亂，一陣怒，一陣怕。難道說天下我最愛的，最尊敬的，最信任的父親會沒收，會偷看我的信嗎？他為什麼這樣作？他可能有這樣卑偽的行爲嗎？

門外父親的腳步聲近了，鑰匙響了。我慌忙把信放回抽屜，一時不知何所措。回家一路無話，心裡琢磨著怎麼發作。第二天我又去辦公室等父親。這次我要結結實實的質問他。可是那一束信卻不見了。我也沒有勇氣質問他。從那以後，我和父親之間就產生了無言的代溝。

我二十歲生日晚上，請了幾個同學來家吃飯，包括後來成為我的丈夫的 J。忽然弟弟叫我接長途電話。是 N。

他問我為什麼不回信？他現在要來接我走。如果我不跟他走，他「可能不久會結婚」。我聽了，這明明是告訴我他已另有對象了，還要逼我作出決策的意味。

「那你不用來了。」

「那麼，我希望以後不再看見你。因為我會要你的……」這是五十年前 N 對我說的最後一句話。J 走進來問有什麼事。我說沒有。

父親從來沒有坦白過 N 的事情。既然我已經有了新的對象，也不再提起 N。但這件事卻許多年來耿耿於懷。直到我大學畢業多年後，自己作了三個青少年的母親，才體會到作父母的難處，有時候不得不採取專制的手段。如果我早跟 N 走了，可能沒有如今學業上的成果。

半張冊頁

事隔多年，父親在華盛頓大學任教二十年，1969 年退休以後，又到夏威夷大學教書三年。再次退休以後就定居在山明水秀的檀香山。1982 年，父親心肌梗塞，母親同時大腸癌發作，兩人接連做了大手術。我和弟弟往返多次照看，但為了工作不能久留。他們療養康復期間幸有我的兒子麥思禮照顧。但是他也終於必須離去讀研究院。因此一向堅決獨立的一對老人，覺得離開成年兒女太遠，還是不行。於是 1985 年，高齡的父母放棄了四季如春的夏威夷，搬到加州奧克蘭市，住在美麗湖邊（Lake Merritt）高樓公寓裡。這次遷居是他們來依附我這個長女的；也是他們一生游居四方最後的一次搬家。

1987 年，八月二十二日凌晨，電話鈴響了。我真怕拿起聽筒。果然是弟弟培德從紅木城（Redwood City）凱薩醫院，打電話報告父親剛剛辭世。下面是我最難以下筆的一段，也是這四年來總寫不完這篇紀念文的緣故。

四十四天以前，七月六日，父親突然中風。從那日起，母親、弟弟和我就輪流在病房裡陪他，照顧他。加護病房裡面，往往住著四到六個重病的病人，高架病床，測驗儀器，醫藥櫃檯，剩餘的空間的確狹窄。一兩個護士晝夜輪流視察，只許家屬定時探病。但母親堅持晝夜在旁。醫院工作人員抗議了幾次，說我們違反醫院規定，干擾別的病人的權益等等。弟弟培德從東岸新澤西州趕過來。我姐弟輪流陪伴父母親，堅持押著母親去吃飯，強迫她休息。最後買了一條折疊泡綿褥墊，索性鋪在父親高架病床底下，以便短睡。母親一向會做人，不但儘量不麻

煩護士們，碰上人手不夠還不時的幫他們照看別的病人。護理們終於無可奈何這位老太太，讓她留下。還替她搬來一張後背可以平放下來的大椅子，供她休息。有時還表示同情別的病人少有一一或根本沒有一一家屬來看望他們，關心他們。後來索性玩笑的說，如果所有的病人都有我們這樣的家屬，他們一半的人要失業了。

八月二十一日夜晚，我在加護病房看父親。他那時已經被搶救過，喉嚨裡插了半寸把粗的人工呼吸氧氣管，頭頸被撐得往後仰，不能說話。鼻孔裡穿吊著營養管，兩臂插牽著點滴管、輸血管，腿上是預備隨時驗血的抽血管。胸部還有肺部排水管。氧氣機在旁一起一落滋滋作響。我一陣心酸，想，耶穌在十字架上受刑也不過如此吧。

我蹲下握著父親一隻無力的手，皮膚平滑，覺不出骨骼。我附在他耳邊告訴他明天下午再來看他，明天早上是期中考試，我今晚必須回去預備考題付印等等。他一輩子教書，這種任務他是會了解的，會原諒我的。父親不能點頭，只見眼角一串斷線的淚珠，流過耳旁落到枕上濕了一小圈。這是最後一次看見微有一息生命的父親，和他說話。他好像聽見了。

父親去世的消息傳出去以後，我們家陸續收到國內外的慰問信件、電話、電報，不下百餘份。喪事辦完後，我留在湖邊公寓陪母親住了一年多。翌年，1988年正月份，接到父母親的摯友張充和女士一封信和一副小小的山水畫。張充和是我們熟識的朋友中的才女，精通書法、詩詞、崑曲、繪畫。因為我們是小孩時在成都認識她的，稱她「張娘娘」（用川語發音「娘」讀陰平聲）。張娘娘天天練字和人家跑步鍛煉一樣；每天寫二百個字，從不間斷。無論旅行到那裡，總是攜帶一小塊明代的墨，和小小的水滴，以便練字。她還收集古墨名紙。她所藏當代名人字畫，如張大千的，都是用她自己的字畫交換來的。這位多材多藝的女才子自從抗戰期間和父母認識了以後，非常投緣。和她的夫婿傅漢思（Hans Frankel，德裔漢學家，耶魯大學榮休教授）是我們家經常來往的朋友。

父親去世半年多以後，張娘娘給我的這封信裡有這樣一段話：

「我處只有你爸爸八封信。有的極短…。第一封是一九四六年由成都寄重慶。事關你小姐。抄奉。『充和小姐：冊頁放在抽屜中為小女一剪為二。只畫了半頁。聊作試筆。實在萬分抱歉。茲將附上只可作書簽用。改日再畫一幅，或者稍有進步…。』想來你見了冊頁便剪了做手工。此信是毛筆寫的…。字字寫的非常秀雅。」

我看了這幾行字半日黯然，淚從心底流。張娘娘顯然是很欣賞父親的丹青。她寄給父親的冊頁必是有來歷的，不然不必寄了，成都買得著好紙。但是我對這件事一點影子都沒有。因為父親從來沒有跟我提過這件事，從來沒有質問過我有沒有拿他的紙，從來沒有因此罵過我一聲，說過我一句。

附在張娘娘的信裡是一幅淡雅的山水，畫在絹上。中峰有一座遠渚，隔著一汪江水，近處岸旁幾點清石，一彎綠柳，數點粉桃。款云：「庚戌秋（1970）方桂在半舫寫江南小景。充和記。林德留念。充贈。」（半舫是充和書齋名）還有一張父親正在作畫的照片。這大概是二十四年以後在美國，父親補給她的一張畫吧。張娘娘善用心機，把這幅畫給了我。現在掛在父母的遺像上頭。

壬午/九月八日/貳零零二
完稿於奧克蘭市，橡樹居

後記：

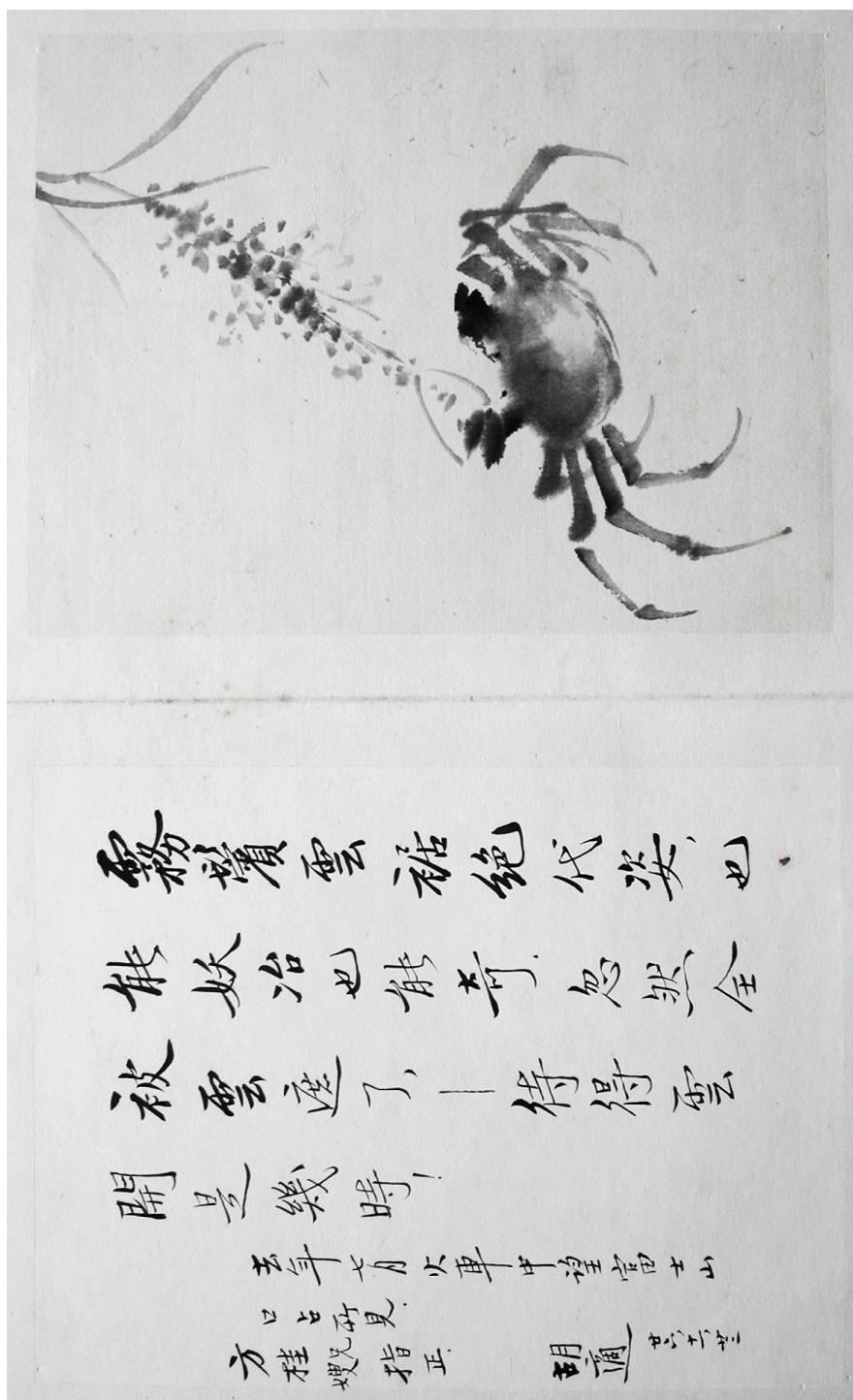
1987年六月底，張充和從東部新港（New Haven）來看望我父母。臨行一晚在我家吃完飯，一起唱崑曲。父親還吹笛給她伴奏了一段。「有朋自遠方來」，談天說地高興了半夜。

那一次來，張充和送我翰墨一幅：灑銀扇面，上面以她秀雅的書法寫著她自己的詩詞九首。其中最感動我的是兩首思鄉的浣溪沙，似乎和父親的畫的那張江南小景相附和：

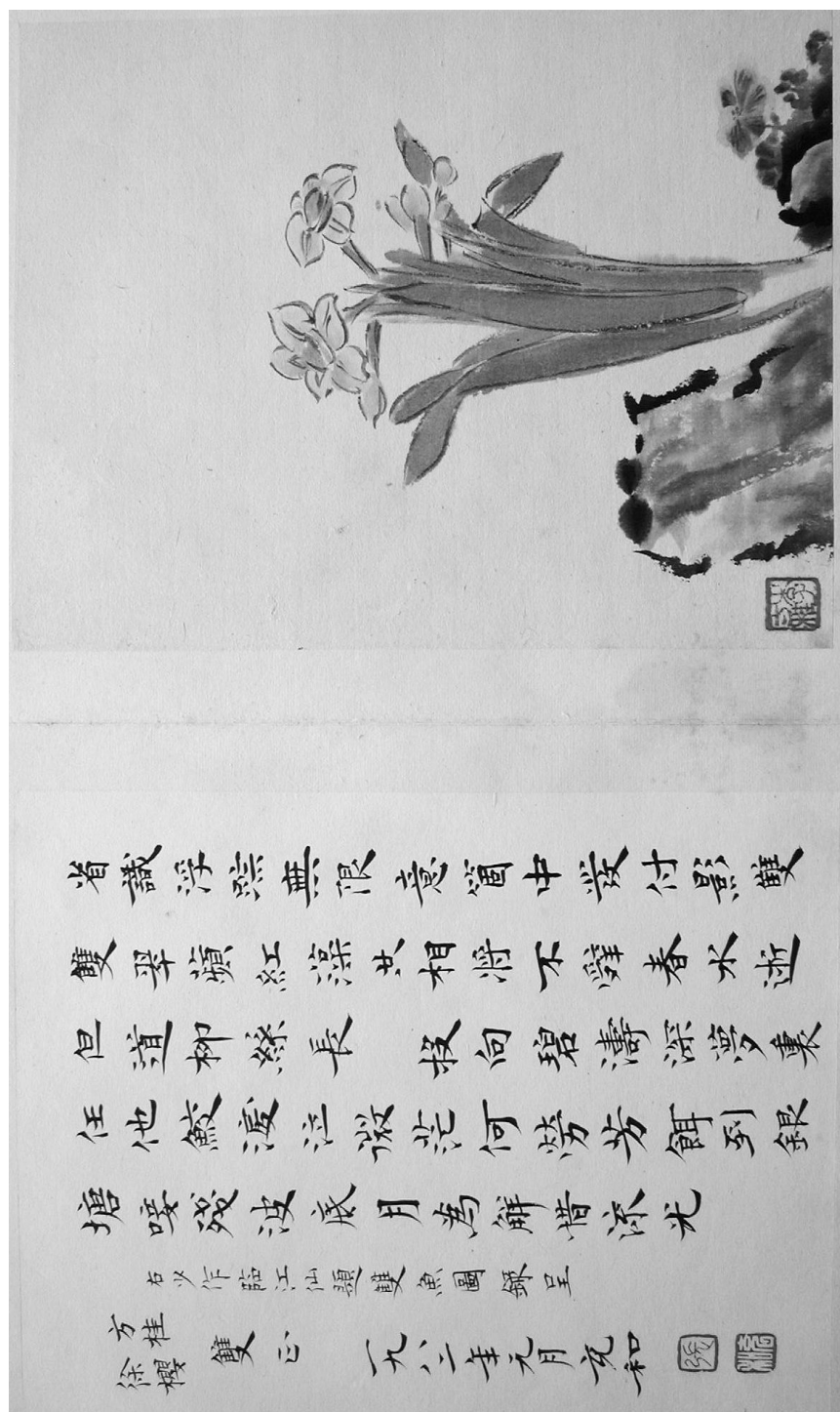
「暫別真成隔世游，離家無復記春秋。倩誰邀夢到蘇州。
月滿風帘慵理曲，秋深煙渚怕登樓。也無意緒蘸新愁。」

「難遣繁憂入酒卮，關河約略似當時。懶逢佳節換新衣。
墨淡筆荒餘悵望，意新詞澀乍凝思。閒窗窈窕暮雲垂。」

她離開以後幾天，父親就中風，一病不起。



Crab and Weeds painted (in ink) by Li Fang-kuei, 1933-34, with Calligraphy and Poetry by Hu Shih on November 22, 1937.



Narcissus and Rocks painted (in ink and color) by Li Fang-kuei, 1933-34, with Calligraphy and Poetry by Chang Ch'ung-ho in January 1982.

Vignettes of My Father

Peter Li (李培德)

Rutgers University

It is proverbially difficult for a son to write about his father. The relationship is difficult to characterize because it combines love, respect, rivalry, competition, mentoring, envy and trepidation. Dad taught me how to play ping-pong at the tender age of five or six and it was my passion for many years even now. I remember we competed fiercely later after I became a more proficient player. He bought my sister and me our first tennis racquets when we were teenagers and ever since tennis has been my obsession even to this day. As I look back now, he did not play very well in those days, but he got us started. He took us to our first classical music concerts at the University of Washington in Seattle soon after we arrived there in 1949. Since then the enjoyment of good music has greatly enriched our lives. Later we were given music lessons: my sister Lindy studied the piano and I took violin lessons and this continued through our high school years. His attempt to guide me to read Dickens, however, was less successful. I just could not finish *David Copperfield*, which he told me to read, no matter how hard I tried. Instead, I found Somerset Maugham, Jules Verne and other science fiction stories much more interesting. Maybe one of these days, now that I am in retirement, I'll complete reading *David Copperfield*. Yes, it's true, he never talked to us much about his area of specialty, linguistics. Maybe that's why none of his children followed in his footsteps.

As I'm writing this reminiscence, I am reminded of the female character June in Amy Tan's novel *Joy Luck Club*, when she was asked to tell her long separated sisters about her mother. She blurted out, "But I don't know her!" Her mother's friend was incredulous, "How can you not know your own mother! She's in you bones!" But she's right. There is a sense of bewilderment when you are asked to talk about someone close to you.

On the other hand, how can you not know your own parents, your father and your mother? They are in your "bones", in your blood. These days often when I look in the mirror, I am shocked to note the resemblance between me and my Dad, now that I'm in my seventies. However, when I'm asked to write about him, it is with great trepidation that I pick up my pen; it's difficult to know where to begin. I am overwhelmed. But let

me begin with the year that I was born.

When I was born in 1935, Dad was thirty-three, already a distinguished scholar. Therefore, I never knew him as a young man. By the time that I came to know him he had already established himself as a world renowned scholar. Maybe not as renowned as he would become later, but he certainly was recognized as a rising star in the field of Chinese linguistics. I remember, probably in 1963, when he became president of the American Linguistics Society, I was in the audience as he gave the inaugural speech at Indiana University. It was quite an impressive occasion; there were probably a thousand people in the large auditorium where he spoke. Although I don't remember much of what he said, I *do* remember Mother whispering to him to speak up when he gets on the lectern. As Mother knew ahead of time, he did not speak very loud, as was his habit, or he was not facing the microphone. In either case, I don't remember hearing or understanding much of what he said.

My earliest memories of him were that he would be away from home for long periods of time. It was probably during the time that we lived in Longtoucun 龍頭村 in Yunnan or Lizhuang 李莊, Sichuan. He was away on his numerous field trips to record the languages of ethnic minorities in Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, etc. While he was away, my favorite pastime during those days was spending many hours playing in a large empty courtyard that had a rectangular concrete structure in the middle. I think it was for holding water. But at the time there was no water in it, in fact it was cracked, and a large piece was dislodged. But I just liked to hang out there playing with broken pieces of bricks and roof tiles lying around. I later became skilled in grinding toy tanks and battleships out of those pieces of bricks and tiles.

Dad's method of raising us was very hands off. He was not particularly concerned about how we were doing in school. Education was more Mother's concern. I suppose his philosophy was that you had to find out for yourself what you're good at; no one can help you except yourself. Once you dedicate yourself to it, then your future will take care of itself. When Dad's student would ask him, what can I do if I study Chinese; Dad's answer would be if you're good at it, you don't have to worry. If you're not good at it, then you're in trouble no matter what field you're in. Dad was a *fujiang* 福將 himself; he had a very pampered childhood. From the day that he was born, his head never touched a pillow until the age of two or three. He was carried day and night by nursemaids and servants. Maybe this was the reason why he became such a good-natured person. He never complained nor competed with anyone; nor was he jealous of anyone. He just kept his nose to the grindstone and did what he was good at.

As a consequence, slowly but surely his accomplishments accumulated.

Aside from his academic accomplishments, Dad was good at all sorts of intellectual games. He was a wiz at *mahjong*. Since the age of seven or eight he would stand in for his father at the *mahjong* table. These *mahjong* players were colleagues of his father, learned men and high officials, but he could hold his own with them. If you don't know about his *mahjong* skills, then you might know about his skills at bridge. This I know personally when we were living in Chengdu. Bridge was one of the few pastimes that the intellectuals like Dad, professors, doctors and other professionals, took pleasure in. Dad was always a much sought after player in those days. The unusual thing is that these games seem to come to him naturally; he did not need much instruction or practice.

But I do remember him seriously learning *weiqi* 圍棋 (*go* in Japanese) when he took up the game. This was when we were living in Seattle, Washington where we settled in 1949. After he came home, following a full day at the office, he would relax and take out his *weiqi* manual and start placing the stones on the board. It was not his habit to talk to us much after he came back from the office. We would bring him his usual cup of tea after he got home and that was it. Then he would go into his study and set up his *weiqi* and play by himself. These games would go on for hours on end—the manual in one hand and a white or black stone in the other ready to be placed on the board. Mother would call out from the kitchen that supper was ready, but nothing happened. He did not budge; the game occupied his full attention. Finally, after several unsuccessful attempts at getting him to the dining room table, Mother would burst into the room, lift up the chess board, and scatter the stones on the floor. From this experience, I have learned never to cross the head of the household when supper time came around. Whenever, I would hear Mother, or now Marjorie, call from the kitchen that supper's ready, I would drop everything and make a bee line for the kitchen.

Perhaps because of his childhood and war experience, my father was always a frugal man. He never had much money in his pocket. One reason may be that Mother managed all the finances. He did not have any expensive habits, nor desired any luxuries. His books and his work were sufficient to keep him happy and contented. But when it came to us children, he never begrudged us anything. During those days that we were in Seattle, I began to study the violin rather seriously. I was getting to be more proficient as I had a good teacher in Stanley Spector, a graduate student in Chinese history at the University of Washington at the time. He later became a specialist on Li Hongzhang. Stanley was originally trained as a musician, but because of a war time

injury to his hand, gave up his career as a violinist and studied to become a Sinologist instead. Through someone's kind introduction, he became my first serious teacher who taught me how to feel the music rather than just mechanically playing the notes. When he heard that I was looking for a good violin, he told Dad that his musician friend, Simon Goldberg, wanted to sell his violin. But the price was \$300.00! In those days, three hundred dollars was no mean sum of money for us. Regular mail was going for 3 cents, a loaf of bread 16 cents, and a gallon of gasoline 33 cents! I remember Dad always, without fail, asked for \$2.00's worth of gasoline whenever he went to the gas station. And I remember going to summer camp, for a full eight weeks, for \$250.00. To make a long story short, Dad bought the violin for me. It must have taken a big chunk out of his salary. That was in the early 1950s. There was never a word of complaint about the cost. I took violin lessons all through high school and played in the Youth Symphony Orchestra in Seattle. I still have the violin today. It's a little worse for wear and tear but still eminently playable. That was 56 years ago.

Another expensive item that I asked for on impulse was a Leica camera. From the mid-fifties on, I left Seattle to study at the University of Chicago following in Dad's footsteps some quarter of a century later. My academic career at Chicago, however, was not all smooth sailing. Dad received his degrees in quick succession, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1926, received his Master's Degree in 1927 and Ph.D. in 1928 from the University of Chicago in two consecutive years. And he studied with stellar professors in the field, Leonard Bloomfield and Edward Sapir. My career at Chicago dragged out for over ten years with three years' interruption when I joined the U.S. Army. I finally received my Ph.D. in 1972 after the department decided to kick me out. One summer in the fifties, when Dad was teaching at the University of Chicago, he told me that he was going to a conference in Germany. He asked me what I would like from Europe. I said without much hesitation "How about buying me a Leica camera?" I did not really believe that I would get it. Well, at the end of summer, Dad came home with a Leica in hand as a present for me. Again, a Leica was the most expensive camera in those days. I was surprised and overwhelmed. I used that camera for many years, until it got eclipsed by the new digital cameras.

In thinking about my understanding of my father, I remember reading Professor South Coblin's remembrance of Dad several years back. South was truly Dad's *zhiji* 知己, he knows and understands my father as much as anyone possibly can. And Dad does not open up easily to people, but I believe that South was one of those who got to know him. I was amazed by many of his insights. Dad was low-keyed, with subtle sense of humor and a man of few words, *guayan* 寡言. But his prodigious memory never fails to

amaze people. He may not always remember people's names, but his knowledge of history, literature, music, philosophy, art is remarkable. But, at home and on most social occasions, he is quiet. He seems oblivious to what is going on around him. He is the epitome of the absent minded professor. My mother often made the observation that it was a good thing Dad never became a doctor. (He was once a pre-med student.) If he did, who knows how many patients he would have harmed by his absentmindedness.

In our two families, the Y.R. Chao's and the F.K. Li's, there's a favorite joke about the two famous linguists, Dad and Y.R. Chao. Both of these men have very articulate wives. When our two families get together, you would hear the two wives talking up a storm. Actually, most of the time it's Mama Chao. The two linguists would sit quietly listening with satisfied smiles on their faces. The two women may not be linguists, but they were certainly masters of the spoken language. Once when our two families got together and Mrs. Chao began discoursing on this and that, she would suddenly remember that Fang-kuei and Yuan-ren were supposed to discuss some question about linguistics and both were there listening to her talk. She turned to Y.R., who was sitting beside her, "Aren't you and Fang-kuei supposed to talk to each other about your linguistic problem? Why are you sitting here?" Y.R. would answer, "Yes, we've talked already. We're done." They were finished in couple of minutes.

Dad and mother are a study in contrast. Mother is very sociable and articulate, she is never tongue-tied. On occasions when she is asked to say something at banquets and parties, she always pleases the audience with her human interest stories and observations. Father, on the other hand, is rather reserved and does not have much to say. When called upon to say a few words, his remarks are short, like "I am Li Fang-kuei, a linguist, and I teach at the University of Washington" and that's it. Well, maybe for him that's all that's necessary since everyone knows who he is any way. Mother, on the other hand, is a great storyteller and conversationalist. She has a good sense of humor and love telling a good story and a joke or two. When she tells her stories, she would make the whole room burst out in laughter. And father would smile with satisfaction. Whenever mother was in the mood to tell a joke, we would all encourage her. And often times, she would burst out laughing herself even before she told the story. Her favorite story was about a fastidious bald man who goes to a barber shop to get a haircut. But he has only three hairs left (like Sanmao 三毛). She would be laughing so hard afterwards that she would wipe away her tears. Even though we had heard the story before, when she told it, we would all laugh as if we were hearing it for the first time. Her delivery was unique and a joy to hear. As the late Professor Fritz Mote once remarked, "I think Mrs. Li speaks the most beautiful Mandarin that I have

ever heard.” And he always wanted to make a recording of my mother speaking, but unfortunately he never did.

Dad’s personality is always somewhat of a puzzle to me. He does not open up very often. Only on rather few occasions does he talk about himself. Most of the time he is lost in thought, absorbed in his linguistic puzzles. Only when you ask him something does he have anything to say and usually it’s a syllable or two. At times, even when there were guests at home, I have noticed him remaining silent rather than engaging in social chit chat as people usually do. I remember that he liked talking to Marjorie though. It was shortly after the birth of our second daughter, Caroline (nicknamed Yuanbao given to her by Yeh-yeh) in 1980 when we were living in Rochester, NY for the year. They would sit in the kitchen and talk for hours on end. I don’t remember what they were talking about since I was preoccupied with my work at the time.

I recall on some mornings, while we lived in Seattle, at the table before I left for school, Dad and I would sit in silence eating breakfast. He had classes at 8 o’clock in the morning. By the way, I think he was always a little late. Because I know he never left on time. We would sit at the table eating; Dad would be having his coffee and smoking a cigarette. He was a chain smoker until his by-pass operation in 1982. In any case, he would be muttering different sounds, like dental sibilants, glottal stops, etc. to himself. I think it was either was for the language class that he was going to teach that morning, or for a paper that he was writing. I was never able to tell.

Some of you probably know that Dad was an accomplished painter of the flowers and insects in the literati style—not *gongbi* (palace style) painting. Again this is a talent that he does not often talk about nor does he show off. But when the right moment came with the right company, he would pick up a brush and paint. I still have a *hua-ce* (畫冊) that he painted when he was a young man in his thirties or forties. The *hua-ce* is constructed in the accordion fold style, or a *zhezi* (摺子) (all the pages are folded together) so that there are no loose pages. In case you paint something poorly, you cannot tear it out. All the paintings therefore have to be well executed. If you did make a mistake, then the *huace* is ruined. Therefore, you must have a high degree of proficiency before you would attempt one of these. Dad did one of these and I have the *huace*. I don’t know exactly when he did these painting. But I think in was during the 1930s or 40s when he was in China. Later he had his good friends inscribe poems or essays (*tizi* 題字) on the opposing page to the painting. There were altogether 15 paintings, and most of them have the calligraphy of his friends and acquaintances.

The source of Dad's artistic talent was his mother, nee He, who was a painter in the court of the Empress Dowager Cixi (慈禧太后). We do not know whether he was formally taught to paint, or he just learned through watching his mother paint. It is one more of the mysteries concerning my father.

As you have probably gathered by now, Dad has been a kind of puzzle to me. He is not the most easy person to understand or get to know. It is much easier when it comes to his accomplishments in linguistics. But when it comes to understanding him as a person, it is more complex. He is like a jewel that has many surfaces. It scintillates when you look at it from the proper angle. If you don't look at it from the right angle, then it does not shine. If you ask him the right questions at the right time, he will open up. But if you don't ask the right question or at the right time, he does not respond. I think I have come to a clearer understanding of him through writing this vignette of Dad. Being the son of a famous father, the most difficult thing was to live up to his expectations. It was not that he demanded great things from you, but it was that you simply did not want to disappoint him. And that was not always easy. He probably would not approve of the essay that I have written here!

May 10, 2006

Oakland, CA.

Appendix I

紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會
李方桂語言學論著獎申請辦法

一、「紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會」（以下簡稱 [本會]）為紀念語言學大師李方桂先生對中國語言學的貢獻，設立「李方桂語言學論著獎」（以下簡稱 [本獎]），並訂定本獎辦法。

二、本獎之獎勵對象為任何地區四十五歲以下研究中國語言學之學人。

三、本獎每年評審一次。凡有意申請者，應於每年九月三十日前申請，將下列各件一式兩份於每年九月三十日前送達本會（電子版網版恕不接受）：

（一）在申請年份兩年內已出版之中國語言學專著一冊，二千字以內之中文或英文摘要一篇；

（二）詳細履歷書，包括兩位諮詢人之姓名。（無需推薦信，本會得視需要主動致函諮詢人。）

四、本獎每次頒發三名：特優獎一名，發給美金一千元；優等獎兩名，發給美金五百元；如特優獎無合格人選時本會得酌量增加優等獎之名額。

五、本獎之評審，由本會聘請專家擔任；最後由本會執行委員會投票決定。本年度執行委員名單見下。評審結果將於次年三月三十一日前發表，並一次給獎。

六、來自亞洲信請寄：香港 沙田 中文大學 中文系 張洪年教授

來自歐美澳非等洲信請寄：Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics
P. O. Box 51123
Seattle, WA 98115-1123
U. S. A.

七、本辦法經執行委員會年會通過，修改時亦同。

紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會

執行委員會名單

主席：丁邦新，柏克萊加州大學榮休講座教授，香港科技大學榮休教授

秘書長兼司庫：余靄芹，西雅圖華盛頓大學教授

委員：柯蔚南 (South Coblin)，愛我華大學教授；高嶋謙一 (Ken-ichi Takashima)，英屬哥倫比亞大學榮休教授；張洪年，柏克萊加州大學榮休教授，香港中文大學講座教授；梅祖麟，康奈爾大學榮休講座教授；黃正德，哈佛大學教授。

(按筆劃排序。)

Appendix II



紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會

Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics P.O. Box 51123, Seattle, WA 98115

先生/女士：

中國語言學在美國的發展從趙元任、李方桂兩位先生開始，趙先生在柏克萊加州大學，李先生在西雅圖華盛頓大學，各自建立了光輝的傳統。自從柏克萊的趙元任中心停辦以後，這個傳統已經無以為繼。一群關心中國語言學發展並和兩位先生都有密切關聯的學者，為了繼承趙李兩位先生的衣鉢，在余靄芹的發起之下，成立了一個「紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會」，永久紀念李先生對中國語言學的貢獻，並推動中國語言學的發展。

語言學界給李方桂先生的尊稱是：「非漢語」語言學之父，和趙元任先生的「漢語語言學之父」交相輝映。李先生對語言學的貢獻是多方面的，他是研究印第安語 Athabaskan 和漢藏語的權威，是中國語言學的開山祖師之一，更是侗台語比較研究的創始者。這些語言的研究都和中國語言有密切的關係，印第安語 Athabaskan 也不例外，所以用「中國語言學研究學會」的名義來紀念李方桂先生是最合適不過的。

現在學會已經組成，並於二零零三年十月一日在美國華盛頓州正式登記為非營利機構。「紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會」包括以下成員：

會長：丁邦新，前 Berkeley 加州大學中國語言學 Agassiz 講座教授，

前香港科技大學人文社會科學學院院長

秘書兼司庫：余靄芹，華盛頓大學亞洲語文系教授

副秘書兼財務：沈鍾偉，安默斯特麻州大學教授

董事：張洪年，前柏克萊加州大學教授，香港中文大學中文系講座教授；柯蔚南，愛我華大學亞洲語文系教授；黃正德，哈佛大學語言學系教授；梅祖麟，前康奈爾大學亞洲研究系胡適講座教授；高嶋謙一，前英屬哥倫比亞大學亞洲研究系教授；丁邦新；余靄芹

顧問：[主席] 羅杰瑞 (Jerry Norman)，前華盛頓大學亞洲語文系教授；

黃正德

籌劃委員會：[主席] 梅祖麟；[副主席] 何大安，中央研究院語言研究所研究員；孫朝奮，斯坦福大學亞洲研究系教授

出版委員會：[主席] 張洪年；何大安，余靄芹，張敏

中國語言學在美國的發展和漢語教學有密切的關聯，從事中國語言學研究的人幾乎都教漢語，漢語的音韻、文法、詞彙的研究都跟語言教學息息相關。學生能掌握漢語才能進一步研究中國的文化、文學、歷史、哲學等等。如果說得強調

一點，中國語言學的研究和美國漢學的發展有密不可分的关系，應該不是過分的話。既然如此，我們更應該大力提倡中國語言學的研究。在這一層意義上，「紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會」的成立就不止是紀念李方桂先生而已。

現在最重要的工作就是要募捐，在短短的三年半內，「紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會」的成員已經捐獻了接近十七萬美元。這些成員都不是富裕的人，樂意捐助只是盡棉薄之力表達對李先生的敬意，對建立這個學會的支持。現在我們寫這封信給李方桂先生的朋友、學生、學生的學生、不認識李先生的社會賢達、關心中國語言學前途的人，希望諸位為紀念李方桂先生也為中國語言學的發展慷慨解囊。

在這新的一年裡，希望您一切順利，也希望「紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會」能夠得到您的支持。敬祝

康健逾恆，心想事成

丁邦新
余靄芹
張洪年
柯蔚南 (South Coblin)
黃正德
梅祖麟
高嶋謙一
羅杰瑞 (Jerry Norman)
何大安
孫朝奮
沈鍾偉

敬啟

二零零六年 五月二十日

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紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會

Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics P.O. Box 51123, Seattle, WA 98115

May 2006

Dear Mr. /Ms

Chinese linguistics in the United States began with the work of Chao Yuen Ren and Li Fang-Kuei; Professor Chao taught at the University of California at Berkeley, Professor Li at the University of Washington in Seattle. Each of them established a magnificent tradition. Now that the Chao Yuen Ren Center for Chinese Linguistics has come to an end at Berkeley, that tradition has been interrupted. A group of scholars who are concerned about the legacy of Chao and Li and who have links to Professor Chao and Professor Li, with Anne Yue-Hashimoto taking the initiative, wish to establish a “Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics” as a permanent memorial to Professor Li’s contributions to Chinese linguistics and in order to promote the development of Chinese linguistics.

The field of linguistics has given Professor Li the title of “father of non-Han linguistics in China” to match Professor Chao’s title of “father of Chinese linguistics.” Professor Li’s contributions to linguistics are many-faceted: he was an authority on Athabascan languages and Sino-Tibetan linguistics and is one of the founders of modern linguistics in China, and, perhaps most importantly, he was the founder of comparative Tai linguistics. These various fields are all closely related to the study of the Chinese, Athabascan being no exception; therefore a “Society for the Study of Chinese Linguistics” is a most appropriate way to commemorate Professor Li.

The Society has now been formed and registered as a non-profit organization in the state of Washington, U.S.A. on October 1, 2003. The Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics includes the following members:

President: Ting Pang-Hsin, Agassiz Professor Emeritus of Chinese at the University of California at Berkeley, former dean of the School of Humanities and Social Science at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Secretary/Treasurer: Anne Yue-Hashimoto, professor of the Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington, Seattle

Deputy Secretary/Treasurer: Zhongwei Shen, professor of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Directors: Hung-Nin Samuel Cheung, professor emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley, chair professor of the Chinese University of Hong Kong; South W. Coblin, professor of the University of Iowa; C.-T. James Huang, professor of linguistics at Harvard University; Tsu-Lin Mei, Hu Shih Professor Emeritus of Chinese at Cornell University; Ken-ichi Takashima, professor emeritus of the University of British Columbia; Pang-Hsin Ting; Anne Yue-Hashimoto

Advisory Committee: [chairs] Jerry Norman, professor emeritus of the Department of Asian Languages and Literature at the University of Washington; C.T. James Huang

Development Committee: [chair] Mei Tsu-Lin; [deputy chairs] Dah-An Ho, research fellow of the Institute of Linguistics at the Academia Sinica; Chaofen Sun, professor of the Department of Asian Studies at Stanford University

Publication Committee: [chair] Hung-Nin Samuel Cheung, Dah-An Ho, Anne Yue-Hashimoto, Min Zhang.

The development of Chinese linguistics in the United States is closely related to Chinese language teaching. Almost everyone who works in Chinese linguistics also teaches Chinese; the study of Chinese phonology, grammar, history of the language and philosophy is also linked to language teaching. A student must first master Chinese before s/he can go on to the study of culture, literature, history or philosophy. It is no exaggeration to say that Chinese linguistics is inseparable from the development of American sinology. For these reasons, we should all vigorously promote the study of Chinese linguistics. In this sense, then, the establishment of the “Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics” is not only for the remembrance of Professor Li Fang-Kuei but also for the furtherance of the field to which he dedicated his life.

Our most important task at present is fund raising. In three-and-a-half year’s time the members of the Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics have contributed almost \$170,000. None of these people is rich; they have willingly contributed from their meager resources to express their respect for Professor Li and their support for setting up this Society. We are writing this letter to Professor Li’s friends, students, his students’ students, to distinguished members of society and those who are concerned about the future of Chinese linguistics. We hope that all of you will be able to make a contribution for this Society.

We wish you good health and good luck.

Yours sincerely,

Ting Pang-Hsin
Anne Yue-Hashimoto
Hung-Nin. Samuel Cheung
South Coblin
C-T. James Huang
Mei Tsu-Lin
Ken-ichi Takashima
Jerry Norman
Ho Dah-An
Sun Chaofen
Shen Zhongwei

Please send your donation to:

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Appendix III

Linguistic Change and the Chinese Dialects—An International Symposium Dedicated to the Memory of the Late Professor Li Fang-Kuei 語言變化與漢語方言——紀念李方桂先生國際學術研討會

“Linguistic Change and the Chinese Dialects from the Perspectives of Historical Documentation and Language Contact”, an international symposium dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Li Fang-Kuei, distinguished scholar and teacher at the University of Washington from 1949 to 1968, took place August 17-19, 1998, at the University of Washington’s Faculty Center. The symposium was subsidized by the University of Washington (Department of Asian Languages and Literature, China Studies Program of the Jackson School of International Studies, College of Arts and Sciences) and the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. Twenty-nine scholars from all over the world presented papers for eleven panels. The keynote address of the first day, “Linguistic Co-evolution”, was given by William S-Y. Wang (City University of Hong Kong and professor emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley). First-day speakers included Ting Pang-Hsin (professor and dean of the School of Humanities & Social Science of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and Agassiz Professor emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley), Ken-ichi Takashima (University of British Columbia, Canada), Anne Yue (University of Washington), Hirayama Hisao (Waseda University and professor emeritus of Tokyo University), William Baxter III (University of Michigan), W. South Coblin (University of Iowa) and Iwata Ray (Shizuoka University), on topics ranging from oracle bones inscriptions to Mandarin tones and phylogeny, and the Jiang-Huai dialects.

The second day of the symposium began with a special presentation by the eldest daughter of Li Fang-Kuei, Lindy Li Mark (California State University at Hayward) on “A Dialect Approach to Speech in *Kunqu* Performance”. Lindy’s performance was particularly moving to those who had heard Li Fang-Kuei himself accompanying on the flute the *kunqu* performance of Madame Li Xu Ying. Another keynote address, “Voicing in the Shyrbei Dialect”, was given by Jerry Norman (University of Washington). Second-day speakers included Zhang Min (National University of Singapore), Hou Jingyi (Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Huang Xuezheng (Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), You Rujie (Fudan University), Li Xiaofan (Peking University), Wu Yunji (University of Melbourne), Laurent Sagart (Centre de national de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris) and Yan Sen (Jiangxi Normal University) on topics relating to the dialects of Southern Mandarin, Jin,

Wu, Xiang, Gan, Hakka, and to the Women's Script.

Third-day speakers included Mei Tsu-Lin (Cornell University), Shi Qisheng (Zhongshan University), Lien Chinfa (National Tsing Hua University), Hung-Nin Samuel Cheung (University of California at Berkeley and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology) and Benjamin T'sou (City University of Hong Kong), on topics relating to the Min and the Yue dialects.

The symposium was made very special by the attendance of two of Professor Li's three children (Lindy and his youngest child Annie) and three grandchildren.

A volume of selected papers presented at the symposium was published in December, 2000 by the Academia Sinica of Taiwan, supported by a publication grant from the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation. For further information please visit the website at <http://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw>.

Appendix IV

An International Symposium on the Historical Aspects of the Chinese Language Commemorating the Centennial Birthday of the Late Professor Li Fang-Kuei 紀念李方桂先生誕辰一百周年漢語史國際學術研討會

"Historical Aspects of the Chinese Language: An International Symposium Commemorating the Centennial Birthday of the Late Professor Li Fang-Kuei (1902-1987)" took place August 15-17, 2002 at the Faculty Center of the University of Washington, Seattle. The symposium lasted three full days and was organized into three fields—Sino-Tibetan and historical phonology, historical dialectology, and historical grammar—and eleven panels within those fields, not counting the opening session, which was devoted to a dedication to, and recollection of, Li Fang-Kuei as a great scholar-teacher. Peter Li of Rutgers University, son of the late Professor Li Fang-Kuei, gave a lively and fascinating speech on memories of his father, which delighted the audience. Ting Pang-Hsin recited a moving poem he had composed, dedicated to the memory of his great teacher, in the traditional chanting style of his native dialect, which struck the hearts of everyone. The poem was translated beautifully into English by Samuel Hung-nin Cheung (chair of the Division of Humanities, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and professor emeritus of UC Berkeley).

Two keynote addresses were delivered on the first day by two prominent senior scholars: Ting Pang-Hsin, professor and dean of the School of Humanities & Social Science of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and Agassiz Professor emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley, on "The Relationship between Chinese and Tai" and Gong Hwang-Cherng, professor and research fellow at the Institute of Linguistics of the Academia Sinica, on "Professor Li Fang-Kuei's Old Chinese Phonological System".

There were two outstanding aspects of this symposium: an evaluation of the academic achievements of the late Professor Li Fang-Kuei in three major areas where he made significant contributions, and a focus on discussion. The former included papers by Ting-Pang-Hsin on the relationship between Chinese and Tai, W. South Coblin (University of Iowa) on Tibetan studies, and Gong Hwang-Cherng on Old Chinese phonology.

The eleven panels of the symposium embraced a wide range of topics within the three major fields of the historical aspects of the Chinese Language:

I. Phonology: relationship between Chinese and Tai (Ting Pang-Hsin; Pan Wuyun, Shanghai Normal University; Prapin Manomaivibool, Chulalongkorn University of Thailand), Tibetan (W. South Coblin), Old Chinese phonology (Wolfgang Behr, Ruhr-University Bochum of Germany; Sun Jingtao, University of California at Davis; Zev Handel, University of Washington), Middle Chinese phonology (Zhengzhang Shangfang, Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Shen Zhongwei, University of Massachusetts at Amherst), and Pre-Modern Chinese phonology (Furuya Akihiro, Waseda University);

II. Dialectology: Min dialects (Jerry Norman, University of Washington; Lien Chinfa, National Tsing Hua University of Taiwan), Northern Yue (Chang Song Hing, Chinese University of Hong Kong), Wu (You Rujie, Fudan University; Akitani Hiroyuki, Ehime University), Xiang (Wu Yunji, Melbourne University), Gan (Wan Bo, Hong Kong Polytechnic University), Hakka (Xiang Mengbing, Peking University), Southeastern Mandarin (William Baxter III, Michigan University), and cross-dialect historical study (Anne Yue, University of Washington).

III. Grammar: Oracle Bone Inscription period (Ken-ichi Takashima, University of British Columbia; Shen Pei, Peking University), Archaic period (Mei Kuang, National Tsing Hua University), from Archaic to Modern (Zhang Min, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology), Classical period (Christoph Harbsmeier, Oslo University), Medieval period (Jiang Lansheng, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Jiang Shaoyu, Peking University), Pre-Modern period (Wei Pei-chuan, Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica), syntactic change (Benjamin T'sou, City University of Hong Kong), and linguistic theory (James Huang, Harvard University).

The symposium was supported by generous funding from various units of the University of Washington (Asian Languages and Literature Department, China Studies Program of the Jackson School of International Studies, College of Arts and Sciences, East Asia Center, Walter Chapin Simpson Center for the Humanities), and in particular the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.

A collection of selected papers, *Essays in Chinese Historical Linguistics: Festschrift in Memory of Professor Fang-Kuei Li on His Centennial Birthday*, 《漢語史研究：紀念李方桂先生百年冥誕論文集》 was published as Language and Linguistics Monograph Series Number W-2 in 2005 by the Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. For further information please visit the website at <http://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw>.

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《中國語言學集刊》為紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會及香港科技大學中國語言學研究中心共同出版之刊物，發表中國語言學領域的學術論文，即以中國語言、漢藏語或其他與漢語相關語言為對象之研究成果，重點尤在歷史比較與方言研究。

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